DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 429 444 FL 025 790

AUTHOR	Beaudin, Maurice; Boudreau, Rene; De Benedetti, George
TITLE	The Socio-Economic Vitality of Official-Language Communities. New Canadian Perspectives.
INSTITUTION	Canadian Heritage, Ottawa (Ontario).
ISBN	ISBN-0-662-24851-1
PUB DATE	1997-00-00
NOTE	134p.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Community Characteristics; *Demography; Economic Development; *Economic Factors; Economic Progress; English; Foreign Countries; French; Labor Market; *Language Minorities; *Language Role; *Official Languages; Socioeconomic Status; Surveys
IDENTIFIERS	Acadians; *Canada; Gaspe Peninsula; Prince Edward Island; Quebec

ABSTRACT

Socioeconomic profiles of two Canadian communities are presented in which the language spoken, an official language, is also a minority language: the French-speaking Acadian minority in an area of Prince Edward Island, and an anglophone minority in the Gaspe Peninsula. The profiles are designed to establish a comparative base from which to assess the relative economic vitality of each minority in its regional context. The study has three phases. The first consists of community profiles; information given about each community includes: demographic data and the relationship between demography and linguistics; the labor market; economic structure; education; income level and source; characteristics of the female labor force; and the comparative status of the minority group in this context. The second phase consists of interviews conducted in selected linguistic minority communities (francophone and anglophone) in Prince Edward Island and Quebec. Responses to the survey questions are summarized for each area covered. The third phase is a summary and conclusions drawn about the two communities profiled and analysis and action framework for linguistic minority communities in general. Contains 23 references. (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 429 444

Canadian Heritage | Patrimoine canadien

The Socio-economic Vitality of Official Language Communities

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Monal O'Keefe
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
1

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

Canada

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The Socio-economic Vitality of Official-Language Communities

Maurice Beaudin, René Boudreau and George De Benedetti

The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect federal government policy or opinion.

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Main entry under title:

The Socioeconomic Vitality of Official Language Communities

(New Canadian Perspectives)
Issued also in French under title: Le dynamisme socio-économique des communautés de langue officielle.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 0-662-24851-1
Cat no. CH3-2/2-1996E

1. Canadians, English-speaking -- Economic conditions -- Quebec (Province) -- Gaspé Peninsula.
2. Canadians, English-speaking -- Economic conditions -- Quebec (Province) -- Magdalen Islands.
3. Canadians, English-speaking -- Economic conditions -- Prince Edward Island.
4. Canadians, French-speaking -- Economic conditions -- Quebec (Province) -- Gaspé Peninsula.
5. Canadians, French-speaking -- Economic conditions -- Quebec (Province) -- Magdalen Islands.
6. Canadians, French-speaking -- Economic conditions -- Prince Edward Island.

I. Canada. Canadian Heritage.
II. Series.

FC104.S62 1996 330.97114'7704 C96-980265-X
F1035.S62 1996

©Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada 1997
Cat. no. CH3-2/2-1996E
ISBN 0-662-24851-1

Table of Contents

Phase I: Community Profiles 1
- Summary 1
- Organization of profiles 4

Part 1—Profile of the Acadian minority in Prince County, P.E.I. 12
- Demographics and linguistics: twofold erosion 12
- Labour market: relative vitality in the regional context 18
- Economic structure: traditional and public sector jobs 20
- Education: an undereducated labour force 22
- Income level and source: overdependency 24
- Characteristics of the female labour force 27
- Comparative status of the Acadian minority in Prince County 30

Part 2—Profile of the anglophone minority in the Gaspé 32
- Demography and linguistics: a disproportionate adult population 33
- Labour market: an adverse regional context 37
- Economic structure: a weighted disparity 39
- Education: a mixed situation 44
- Income level and source: insignificant linguistic differences 45
- Characteristics of the female labour force 47
- Comparative status of the Anglophone minority in the Gaspé 50

Appendix 51

Phase II: Interviews conducted in selected linguistic minority communities in Prince Edward Island and Quebec 53

Part 1—Francophone communities in Prince County, Prince Edward Island
- Évangéline 54
- Tignish, Palmer Road, and surrounding area 62

Part 2—Anglophone communities in the Gaspé peninsula and the Magdalen Islands 66
- Grande Cascapédia and Saint Jules 66
- New Richmond 72
- New Carlisle 77
- Shigawake and Port Daniel 84
- The Town of Gaspé 87
- The Magdalen Islands 91

Appendix—Persons interviewed 94

Phase III: Summary and Conclusion 98

Part 1—Prince Edward Island: The economic vitality of the francophone minority in Prince County 98

Part 2—Quebec: The economic vitality of the anglophone minority in the Gaspé (and the Magdalen Islands) 108

Analysis and action framework for linguistic minority communities 115

Bibliography 122

Phase I: Community profiles

Summary

The purpose of these socioeconomic profiles is to establish a comparative base from which we may assess the relative vitality of each minority in its regional context. The key indicators selected allow us to measure their relative vitality, but within a statistical framework only. These profiles do not pretend to reflect the vitality of each community as expressed by community organization, entrepreneurship, institutional network, infrastructures or relations with the linguistic majority. They provide a guide for assessing the socioeconomic status of each minority in its regional context. However, these are only two case studies, and probably not typical ones. This phase provides an important complement to on-site studies and also serves as a reference on the communities in question.

Comparative situation of the Acadian minority in Prince Edward Island

Approximately 6,000 inhabitants (4.2% of the population) of Prince Edward Island are French-speaking.[1] Three out of four Francophones live on the western side of the island, in Prince County, where they represent nearly 10% of the county's population. Their relative concentration in the Évangéline region gives them a political influence which compensates for their lack of demographic influence. Analysis of the key indicators reveals that this Francophone minority, essentially Acadian in origin, is the victim of significant socioeconomic disparities in comparison with the majority. These disparities are reflected by their more limited access to the labour market, the types of jobs they occupy in rural areas and their level of dependency on transfers, particularly unemployment insurance.

This general portrait must, however, be qualified. Our data reveals significant differences between the Acadians of the Évangéline-Summerside region and those living elsewhere. The vitality of the Acadian community in the Évangéline-Summerside region is indisputable, despite some indicators of disparities in relation to the Anglophone majority. The latter are more urbanized and have always held the best jobs in public and parapublic organizations. The Acadian minority has gained ground in this area nonetheless, since its share of the labour force employed in the public sector is now comparable to what is observed for Anglophones. These gains have primarily taken place in the area of education, however, with public administration and health remaining the stronghold of the Anglophone majority.

Acadian communities outside the Évangéline region are relatively isolated and trapped in a context of rural marginalization. This is not simply attributable to their minority status, for their rural Anglophone neighbours suffer the same constraints. But the fact that they are largely in the minority makes them more vulnerable to

[1] See table A1 on page 51.

assimilation and its pernicious effects: a lack of community organization and cohesion, a lack of self-confidence that hinders entrepreneurship, a high rate of emigration, and so forth. These effects are readily perceived through socioeconomic indicators, which show a shifting demographic structure characterized by a large proportion of relatively old people and a very small proportion of young people, markedly below-average levels of education, limited participation in the labour market and over-dependency on unemployment insurance.

The majority communities in these regions are subject to the same process of rural marginalization, but relative demographic stability and historical standing protect them somewhat from these external forces. We noted the same phenomenon among the Acadians in the Évangéline region. Clearly in the majority, they have developed a strong sense of belonging, which encourages community organization and cohesion. This has kept a check on emigration (a continuing drain on the region, nevertheless) and encourages local entrepreneurship. The region is also known for its commitment and accomplishments in the co-operative area. Their determination has enabled them to control a sector vital to their emancipation, that of education. Not only has taking charge of the school system given them an effective means of combatting assimilation, but it has also given them greater access to the public sector. Socioeconomic indicators confirm the relative vitality of the Acadians in this area of Prince County.

Comparative situation of the Anglophone minority in the Gaspé

Little is heard about the Gaspé Peninsula's Anglophone minority. And yet there are no fewer than 11,000 Anglophones living throughout the region. Our study focuses on the south coast of the peninsula, where there are more than 7,300 Anglophones, primarily in the counties of Bonaventure, Gaspé and Pabok. The Anglophone minority makes up 12% of the population of these three counties, but represents less than 9% of the province's total population.

Socioeconomic analysis of this linguistic minority results in a mixed picture, given that the group is very heterogeneous and somewhat scattered across the region. In economic terms, the Anglophone minority in the county of Gaspé seems to boast greater vitality. Anglophones in this area have access to more stable and higher-paying public sector jobs, thanks to Gaspé's status as the regional centre. Those in the Bonaventure area fall somewhere in the middle. They are more often employed in the resource sectors but hold some jobs in the public service sector as well. In the county of Pabok, the Anglophone minority has a very poor socioeconomic profile, whether in the regional context or by comparison with the Francophone majority. Overall, the Anglophone community on the south coast has a poorer demographic structure than the Francophone majority, although the latter also suffers the effects of emigration and a declining birth rate.

The difference between the demographic structures of the minority and majority is not comparable, however, to what is seen in Prince Edward Island. There is less

access to the labour market and under-representation in the public sector, except in the areas of education and manufacturing. In education, the Anglophone minority is not much worse off than the majority, although standards here are decidedly lower than the provincial and national averages. The economic participation of women from the primarily Anglophone communities leaves something to be desired. Not only is there a shortage of employment, but jobs are confined to traditional activities where salaries are generally much lower then average. When women are employed in higher-paying sectors, they often occupy subordinate positions. This is also true for others, including the region's Francophone community, but the disparity is more severe for the Anglophone communities, except perhaps in the town of Gaspé. The Anglophone minority in the Gaspé Peninsula must have greater access to public sector employment, particularly in such areas as government administration and health, if they are to bring their occupational structure more in line with that of the majority. The Gaspé Anglophones must also recapture the entrepreneurial spirit they once displayed. It should not be forgotten that their predecessors were at the forefront of the region's economic development. Finally, the Francophone majority must open its arms to the Anglophone community, not merely for the sake of cultural heritage - an important factor for tourism - but as an indisputable asset to the economic adjustment of a region that is gradually sinking into a state of dependency.

Organization of profiles

The purpose of these profiles is not to compare one minority with another. Rather, they are intended to serve as guides for evaluating each group in comparison with its regional context as well as the rest of the province. Since this is not an exhaustive study, the evaluation criteria have been kept to a minimum. Indicators have been chosen for their explanatory value and clarity, so as to reduce ambiguity. The profiles gradually build up a picture, beginning with demographic vitality and ending with standard of living, as expressed by income characteristics. They have been similarly organized for the Acadian minority in Prince Edward Island and the Anglophone minority in the Gaspé Peninsula.

Procedure

The process of drawing up a profile is always a delicate matter. This is particularly true in the case of minority communities which, more often than not, are spatially mixed in with the linguistic majority. How is the selection to be made? Should we look at all communities with a minority population? Or should we choose only those where the minority population is above a certain threshold, and if so, what should that threshold be? Would it be preferable to combine these two criteria? Before deciding what path to take, we must examine the source and nature of the available data.

As we are working primarily from census data, we must base our study on their method of territorial organization. Since the census data used is based on a sample of 20% of households, a problem arises with respect to aggregation as soon as the samples are subdivided according to first language. However, if we look at the larger communities only, we exclude many minority contingents which, taken together, make up an appreciable and even highly significant part of the minority group being studied.

We have surmounted this problem by combining two approaches: one regional and the other based on communities. The regional approach begins with the county (a census division) in which the minority resides. This is an ideal basis for our study. First, it enables us to look at all members of the minority group, since the census data enumerates all residents of the county according to their first language. Second, it is possible to use some degree of disaggregation to obtain figures for such indicators as labour market, education and income level.

The community approach looks at the actual communities located within the county boundaries. Since these communities are relatively small, we cannot study their population on a linguistic basis, with the exception of the demographic profile that relates to the total population. The community-based analysis therefore applies to the entire population, majority and minority. However, there must be an acceptable threshold for level of representation; this level, we believe, should not be lower than 50%. The minority population must therefore constitute at least 50% of any

community population included. These two approaches are far from perfect, but combined, they allow us to draw a fairly detailed and, above all, reliable profile of the minorities in question.

Selection/identification of communities

In the two regions in question, the minority populations are somewhat scattered across the territory. For Prince Edward Island, the analysis is facilitated somewhat by the fact that the Francophones in the region studied live within a single county, namely Prince County (see Map 1). Moreover, they are primarily concentrated in the Évangéline region. Even so, there is a relatively widespread distribution of Francophones throughout the county.

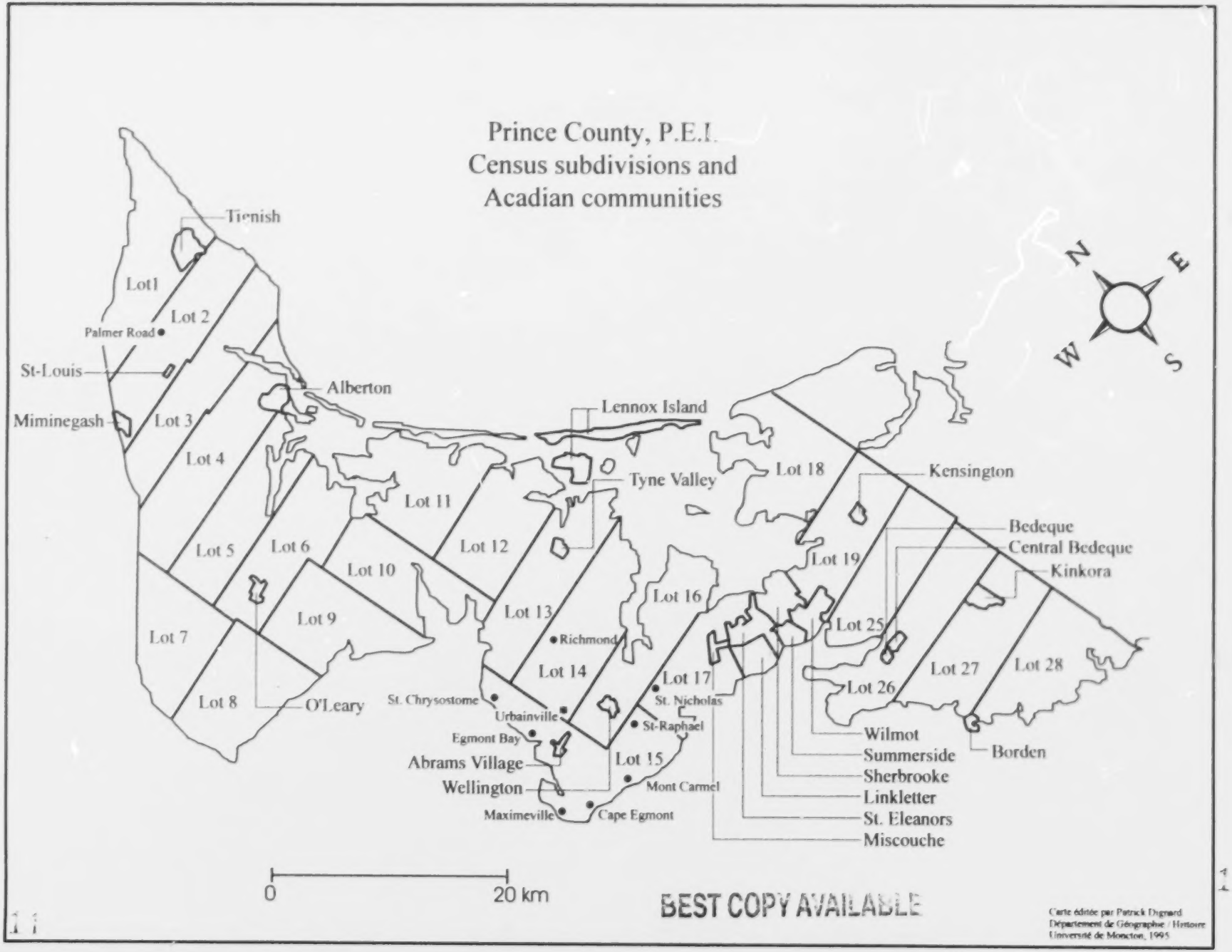

Prince County, P.E.I.
Census subdivisions and
Acadian communities
Tignish
Lot1
Lot 2
Palmer Road
St-Louis
Alberton
Miminegash
Lot 3
Lot 4
Lennox Island
Tyne Valley
Lot 11
Lot 18
Kensington
Bedeque
Central Bedeque
Kinkora
Lot 5
Lot 6
Lot 10
Lot 12
Lot 19
Lot 16
Lot 7
Lot 9
Lot 13
Richmond
Lot 25
Lot 14
Lot 17
Lot 27
Lot 28
Lot 8
O'Leary
St. Chrysostome
St. Nicholas
Lot 26
Urbainville
St-Raphael
Egmont Bay
Wilmot
Summerside
Abrams Village
Lot 15
Borden
Sherbrooke
Wellington
Mont Carmel
Linkletter
Maximeville
Cape Egmont
St. Eleanors
Miscouche
N
E
W
S
0
20 km
BEST COPY AVAILABLE
Carte éditée par Patrick Dignard
Département de Géographie / Histoire
Université de Moncton, 1995

Table 1-Distribution of Francophones in Prince County, Prince Edward Island, 1991

Community/Region	Number of Francophones, BFL*	Percentage of Francophones	Percentage of Francophones in Prince County
Prince Edward Island	**5,414**	**4.2**	
Prince County	**4,075**	**9.4**	**100.0**
Summerside Region	**1,160**	**7.6**	**28.5**
Summerside (Town)	570	7.6	
St. Eleanors (Com)	265	7.5	
Miscouche (Com)	150	22.4	
Wilmot (Com)	75	3.4	
Lot 17/Linklet./Sherbr.	100	7.1	
Évangéline Region**	**1,710**	**52.2**	**42.0**
Lot 15	885	76.6	
Abrams Village (Com)	280	88.9	
Lot 16	135	21.8	
Wellington (Com)	275	67.1	
Lot 14	135	17.4	
Northern Prince Region	**1,030**	**11.2**	**25.3**
Lot 2	430	25.0	
St. Louis (Com)	30	24.0	
Miminegash (Com)	5	2.0	
Lot 1	325	16.9	
Tignish (Com)	125	14.0	
Lot 4	20	1.6	
Alberton (Town)	30	2.8	
Lot 5	40	3.5	
Lot 3	25	3.0	
Centre and south of county	**185**	**1.2**	**4.5**

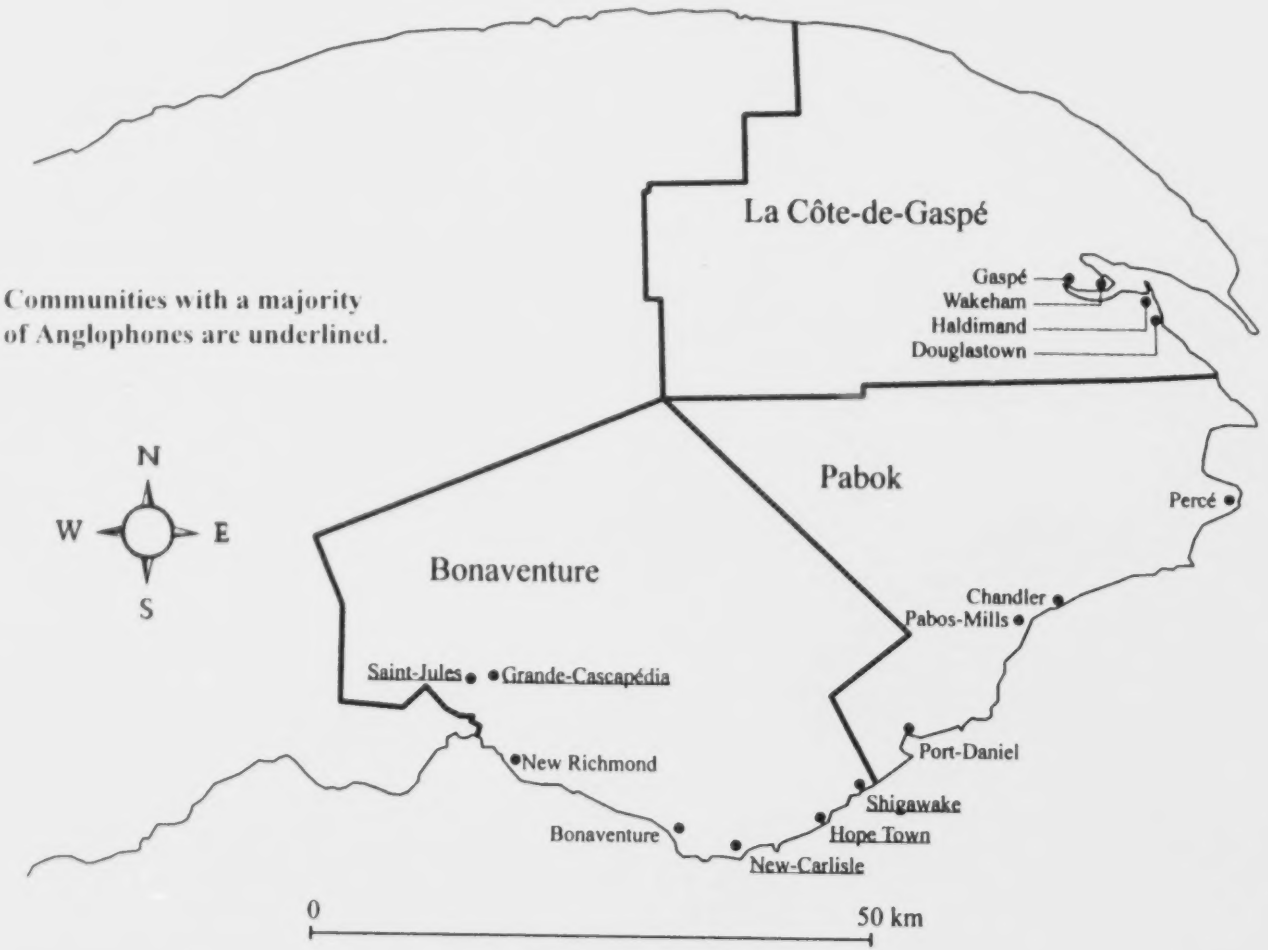
Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

* Respondents by French as a first language (single response).

** Local interviewees estimate the region's population to be 2,500, but the boundaries of the Évangéline region as described by these interviewees do not correspond to the census boundaries.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Gaspé (south coast), Quebec
Census divisions and
Anglophone communities



Communities with a majority of Anglophones are underlined.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Carte éditée par Patrick Dignard
Département de Géographie / Histoire
Université de Moncton, 1995

Table 2-Distribution of Anglophones in the Gaspé, 1991

Community/Region	Number of Anglophones, BFL*	Percentage of Anglophones	Percentage of Anglophones in Gaspé
QUEBEC (Province)	**601,405**	**8.7**	
Gaspé (south coast)	**7,340**	**11.8**	**100.0**
Bonaventure County	**2,960**	**14.9**	**40.3**
New Carlisle (SD)	935	59.6	12.7
New Richmond (Town)	705	17.6	9.6
Shigawake (SD)	240	55.8	3.3
Grande-Cascapédia	215	79.6	2.9
Saint-Jules (SD)	210	56.8	2.9
Hope Town (SD)	200	53.3	2.7
Bonaventure (SD)	185	6.5	2.5
Pasbébiac (+Pasb. O.)	100	2.7	1.4
Hope (CT)	80	9.4	1.1
Other communities	90	1.4	1.2
Côte-de-Gaspé (County)	**2,645**	**12.8**	**36.0**
Gaspé (Town)	2,395	14.9	32.6
Pabok County	**1,735**	**8.0**	**23.6**
Percé (Town)	800	19.9	10.9
Port-Daniel (SD)	390	21.6	5.3
Chandler (Town)	175	5.2	2.4
Pabos Mills (SD)	165	10.6	2.2
Other communities	200	1.8	2.7

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

* Number of respondents by English as a first language (single response).

Defining Anglophone regions and groups in the Gaspé region poses as many, if not more, problems. First of all, the territory is much larger and the Anglophone minority is distributed among a number of counties (see Table 2). Using the same criteria as for P.E.I., we selected five communities. However, the other groups are looked at within each of the counties. The five communities are located in the county of Bonaventure. This county is divided into 16 census subdivisions, including Grande-Cascapédia, Hope Town, New Carlisle, Saint-Jules and Shigawake.

We did not look at all communities that have a minority population, but selected only those that accurately reflect the regional situation and offer useful insights at the community level. The criterion was still the proportion of Francophone or Anglophone representation. Three communities were selected in the county of Prince: Abrams Village, Lot 15 (including Mont-Carmel) and Wellington. These are the only communities with a proportion of Francophones greater than 50%. For the rest, analysis was done at the county level, taking account of first language, which enables us to include all Francophones in the region, wherever they might be.

Choice of variables and sources of data

Since the profiles must above all have a homogeneous data base for each of the communities in question, the number of variables was kept to a minimum. The data used pertains to the major socioeconomic themes, including demographics, education, labour market, economic structure and income characteristics.

First language as a selection criterion

Recent censuses, with a view to providing more detail about the linguistic status of the respondents, have introduced new ways of answering, namely, multiple responses. (See tables on the number of multiple responses, appended.) Any demolinguistic study must henceforth take this additional information into account. However, our aim here is to establish a comparative socioeconomic profile of each of the minorities. The most direct way, and also the one that creates the least confusion, is to use only one criterion for selecting the group to be studied. In this case, we have chosen the mother tongue, since it is a widely used and familiar criterion. Nevertheless, we are conscious of excluding certain members of the minority group, those who reported both official languages in the census. However, using the mother tongue as a criterion also includes minority group members who speak only the majority language, which restores the demographic balance to some extent. But the main reason for choosing the mother tongue is that it greatly simplifies the statistical process, leaving little room for ambiguity and over-representation in the case of small groups. For a more precise idea of the demolinguistic status of the two minorities, we are appending a section on their demographic profile as reflected in the 1991 census. At the same time, this provides an idea of the differences created by adopting one or the other criterion.

Source of data

The data comes from two sources: the 1991 census (the 1981 and 1986 censuses were also used for the demographics), as well as *Statistics Canada's special file on small areas*. This file contains primary data (from annual income tax returns) compiled by postal region. We obtained the income data for 1992 from this file. It is not compiled by mother tongue and is primarily valuable for its quality (annual primary data covering 100% of those filing returns). Data on income by mother tongue can be compiled, but only by using census data for the county.

These two sources are not entirely compatible on a geographic basis, but are complementary. Using income figures from the census often gives a picture that is vague and sometimes even far from reality in the case of small communities. The margin of error when using this source is twofold: first, we are working with a sample of 20% of households, which considerably increases the margin of error in small areas; second, respondents tend to give evasive answers when asked about income. Since we are looking at small communities, the risk of error is too great. These problems do not exist with Revenue Canada's data; and the size of the region has no significance inasmuch as 100% of those filing are included and the income

and its source are well established. However, for economic structure, education and demographics, the censuses are very useful.

Part I—Profile of the Acadian minority in Prince County, P.E.I.

Of the nearly 6,300 Francophones[2] in Prince Edward Island counted in the 1991 census, three quarters (4,700) live in Prince County, on the western side of the island. The county's total population was 43,241 in 1991. The population is essentially rural, although approximately a third is concentrated in a few towns and communities near Summerside, the regional centre for the west of the island. Francophones make up approximately 10% of the county's population, compared with 4.2% provincially. They are somewhat scattered about the county, but those who speak French at home are concentrated in a few rural communities in the Évangéline region. The fact that they are in the majority in their community gives these Francophones greater demographic and political influence.

To determine the economic status of the Acadians in Prince County, we must know the extent to which they participate in economic activity and what type of jobs they occupy. However, their vitality cannot be assessed on the basis of these criteria alone. Their demographic structure and the educational level of their labour force also influence their relative economic vitality. Nor should we underestimate community organization and cohesion, particularly in the economic domain. The Evangeline region has displayed great determination in the past and has put in place a relatively successful structure based on co-operation and teamwork. These achievements are not truly reflected by socio-economic statistics. Rather, the last census depicts significant economic disparities between the Anglophones and Francophones of Prince County. These disparities are primarily attributable to the fact that the Francophone population is older, less active in the labour market, less well educated and occupies lower-paying jobs. However, there are telling differences between the Acadians of the Évangéline-Summerside region and those living elsewhere in the county.

Demographics and linguistics: twofold erosion

Nearly half (42%) of the Francophones in Prince County live in the region covered by Lots 14-16, including the largely Francophone communities of Abrams Village, Mont Carmel and Wellington. Another large concentration (28%) is found in Summerside and the surrounding communities, such as St. Eleanors and Miscouche. A final significant group (25%) lives in the north of the county, particularly Lots 1 and 2, which include the communities of Tignish, Palmer Road and St. Louis. The proportion of Francophones is 8% in the Summerside area and 11% in the north. But the number of Francophones, based on mother tongue, is not a guarantee of linguistic vitality. In fact, the further one gets from the Évangéline region, the

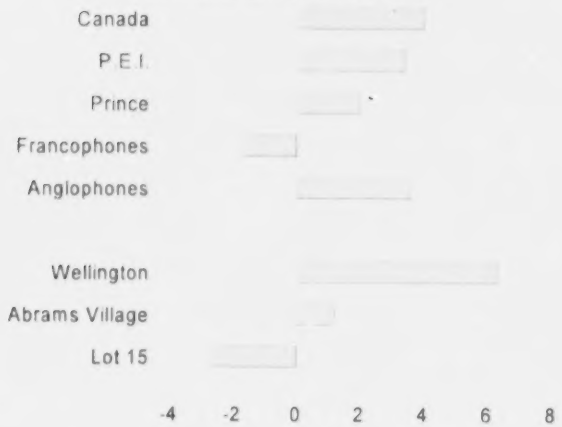
[2] Declaring French as their mother tongue (single and multiple responses). Single responses alone amount to 5,414 Francophones for Prince Edward Island and 4,075 for Prince County.

more assimilation is common. For the county as a whole, 40% of Francophones declaring French as their mother tongue speak English in the home.

With the exception of the Wellington region, the population of the Acadian region of Prince County has been declining. The populations of Abrams Village and Lot 15 (Mont Carmel) appear to have dropped by 5% during the eighties. In the county as a whole, there was a modest increase in population during the same period, although less than that of the province (6%) or the national average (12%). And the situation deteriorated in the second half of the eighties, except for the Wellington region, where there was a slight rise in population.

Figure 1 - Development of the total population

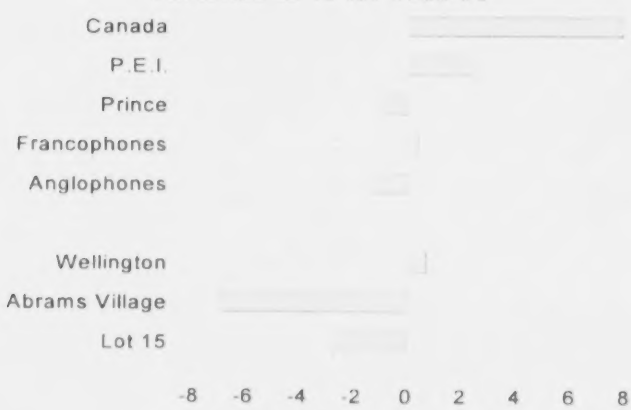
Variation in % for 1981-86



Source: 1981 and 1986 Censuses of Canada.

Figure 2 - Development of the total population

Variation in % for 1986-91



Source: 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada.

How should these results be interpreted? First, demographic erosion of small centres and rural communities is a problem affecting all industrialized countries. This phenomenon tends to be worse in regions with little economic diversity, such as those studied here. Our previous analyses of migrations in the Atlantic provinces show that the regional migratory deficit seems to be worse during periods of economic recovery. During the strong recovery of 1985-89, Ontario attracted a large number of workers from Eastern Canada, aggravating the migratory imbalance. The severe recession of 1981-82 had the opposite effect. Potential emigrants stayed in their respective regions and former emigrants returned to collect unemployment at home. For example, between 1981 and 1986, the rural population of the Atlantic provinces grew 1.3%, yet this growth was reversed for a net change of -0.8% between 1986 and 1991[3].

But there is more to the demographic weakness of the Francophone community. Young Francophone adults are all the more likely to leave because there is little to keep them in the region. Job opportunities for educated young adults are lacking in the rural Acadian regions, where the service sector is minimal. The only true service centre, Summerside, has difficulty accepting the French fact. This exodus of young people has a negative impact on the region. It is also possible that interethnic unions lead to assimilation. It is known that a minority (Francophone) parent forming a household with a majority (Anglophone) spouse most often ends up being assimilated, along with the children. The rate of assimilation, approximately 40%, attests to a high incidence of linguistic transfer[4]. Emigration, combined with linguistic transfer, offsets any slight natural growth. There is a cumulative loss for the Acadian community as a whole. These demographic imbalances are disturbing, and they leave the Acadian community in Prince County open to serious problems in the future[5].

---

[3] For further information, see a CIRRD study, entitled *Les caractéristiques du chômage et des chômeurs dans les sous-régions de l'Atlantique*, prepared by Maurice Beaudin for the federal Department of Human Resources, Moncton, May 1995.

[4] The terms *assimilation* and *linguistic transfer* are used very simply here. We are merely saying that 40% of respondents with French as mother tongue do not speak it at home.

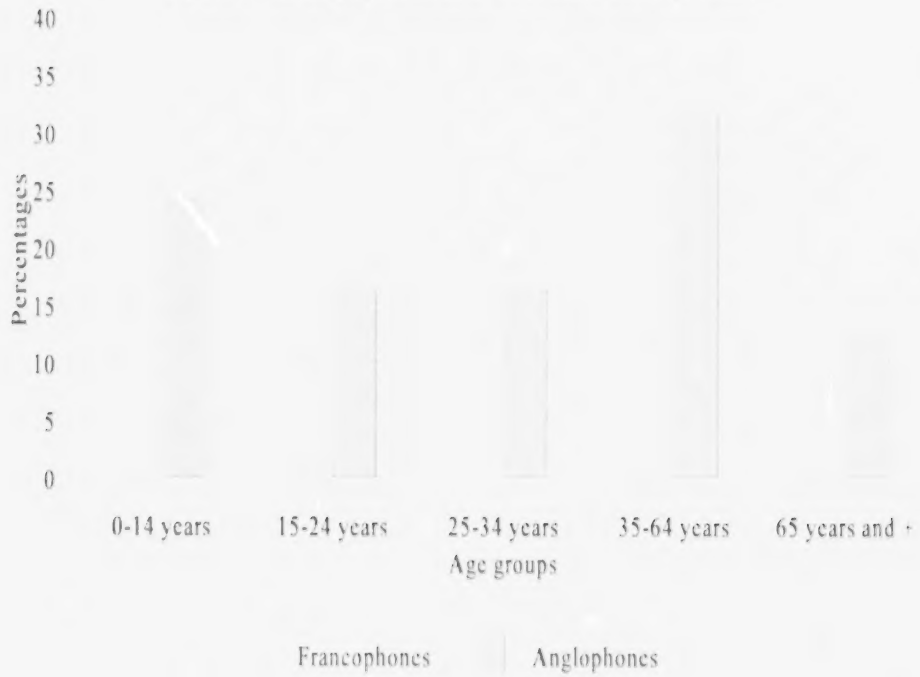
[5] The high rate of emigration is not unique to Francophones; it is a common problem in marginal rural regions. But since the Acadian community in Prince County also suffers from limited access to the labour market, it is clearly affected more severely by the emigration of young people.

This situation also explains the demographic structure of the Acadian community in Prince County. At first glance, this structure appears to be favourable for the Acadians since they have a lower demographic dependency rate[6] than the region's Anglophones (51% as opposed to 56%). But a closer look reveals that no renewal is taking place at the bottom. Young people under 25 make up only 24% of the total Acadian population, compared with 40% among the Anglophones. The Atlantic and national averages are 37% and 35% respectively. This is tangible evidence of the erosion of the younger age groups. This shortage of young people has inevitable repercussions on the top of the age pyramid, since 58.5% of Prince County's Acadians are 35 or older, as opposed to only 43.5% of their Anglophone neighbours. Elsewhere, the group aged 35 and older makes up at most 47% of the total population. Nearly 20% of the Acadians in Prince County are 65 or older, as opposed to 12% of the Anglophones, and an average of 11.6% nationally. The group aged 25-34 is slightly larger in the Acadian community. However, this proportion would have to be even larger to make up for the shortfall foreseeable in the medium term.

---

[6] The demographic dependency rate (DDR) is the ratio of the inactive population (0-14 years and 65 years +) to the potentially active population (15-64 years). The higher the DDR, the heavier the socio-economic burden on the active population.

Figure 3 - Demographic structure of Prince County, P.E.I.



Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

Table 3-Demographic structure of Prince County's two linguistic communities, 1991

Age groups	Prince County		PEI	Canada
	Franco. (%)	Anglo. (%)	Total (%)	Total (%)
0-14	14.3	24.1	22.9	21.1
15-24	9.7	16.2	15.3	14.2
Youth (under 25 years	**24.0**	**40.3**	**38.2**	**35.3**
Adults (25-34 years)	**17.8**	**16.1**	**16.0**	**17.9**
35-64	39.0	31.6	33.5	35.9
65 and +	19.5	11.9	12.3	10.9
35 years and over	**58.5**	**43.5**	**45.8**	**46.8**
Demographic dependency rate (DDR)*	**50.7**	**56.4**	**54.3**	**48.1**

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

*The DDR is the ratio of the population aged *0-14* and *65 and +* to the population aged *15-64*.

Labour market: relative vitality in the regional context

Although disadvantaged economically, Prince County is not the worst off in the Atlantic context[7]. The presence of an urban regional centre, Summerside, helps to improve the profile of the entire county. The Summerside census agglomeration includes 15,200 persons (7,500 for the town itself and 7,700 for the surrounding communities) or over a third of the county's population. But the Summerside region has 39% of the labour force and generates 41% of the county's employment income.

The 1991 census data indicate strong participation in the labour market by the island communities in question. The participation rate for the communities of Lot 15 and Abrams Village is over 67%. For the county as a whole, Francophones have a lower rate of participation, 61%; this is nevertheless comparable to that observed for the entire Francophone population of the Atlantic provinces. The difference between the participation rates for Francophones in the Summerside-Evangéline region and those outside this region is very significant. It expresses major structural

[7] A CIRRD study on intra-regional disparities found that Prince Edward Island's Prince County ranks 29th out of the 46 Atlantic counties. The ranking was obtained by taking the aggregate of ten or so key variables pertaining to income, education, occupational structure, length of employment and so forth. For more details, consult *Indicateurs de disparités (Phase II) - Disparités infra-régionales dans l'Atlantique*, by Maurice Beaudin, CIRRD, August 1991.

differences that we will attempt to explain in the coming pages. When we look at the county as a whole, Francophones are somewhat less active than Anglophones, 69% of whom participate in the labour market, a rate equivalent to the provincial average. But this disparity applies more to Acadians outside the Évangéline-Summerside region because of limited employment opportunities in the service sector. There is very active participation in the labour market in the Wellington-Miscouche region. An examination of statistics from income tax records confirms the high rate of participation by residents of the region[8]. This is not really the case for the other rural Francophone regions, although they are even more dependent on unemployment insurance.

Table 4-Overview of employment and unemployment, 1992, (Francophones and Anglophones)

Community/ Region	Total Population	Employ. rate[1]	Level of unemploy.[2]	Unemploy. insurance dependency ratio UI/Empl.[3] Can=10	
Canada	**27,533,910**	**51.9**	**24.1**	**5.0**	**1.00**
Atlantic	**2,262,210**	**49.9**	**41.4**	**13.4**	**2.68**
P.E.I.	**130,400**	**53.3**	**44.8**	**17.1**	**3.42**
Prince County	**43,710**	**52.5**	**53.2**	**25.4**	**5.08**
Summerside (CIN)	14,170	53.0	40.7	12.8	2.56
Tignish	3,450	53.6	77.3	70.2	14.04
Wellington	2,070	55.1	60.5	30.4	6.08
Miscouche	1,490	54.4	54.3	25.7	5.14
St. Louis	1,390	51.8	81.9	81.9	16.38
Richmond	840	50.0	57.1	27.5	5.50

Source: Statistics Canada, Small Area and Administrative Data Division, specially ordered for 1992.

[1] Ratio of population declaring employment income and or unemployment insurance benefits to total population.

[2] Ratio of population declaring unemployment insurance benefits to population declaring employment income.

[3] Ratio of unemployment insurance income to employment income.

N.B. Prince County is part of the C0B postal region, which includes all of western P.E.I. This region is subdivided into 22 rural codes and 3 urban codes. We have included only those areas with the greatest representation of Francophones.

More Francophones (38%) than Anglophones (33%) work on a seasonal basis in Prince County. This statement is confirmed by the high rate of eligibility for

[8] The Wellington postal region includes the communities of Mont-Carmel, Abrams Village, Cap Egmont and Egmont Bay as well as Wellington itself. In short, it represents a significant portion of the Évangéline area.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

unemployment insurance in the region'. In the Wellington postal region (C0B 2E0), where there is a large Francophone population, 60% of those who declared employment income also received unemployment benefits. Unemployment, according to the same definition, is even more evident in the small communities, particularly Miscouche, St. Louis and Tignish. It should be noted that the structure of economic activity, more than language, influences the rate of unemployment. Anglophones in the rural resource regions are as much affected by the phenomenon of underemployment as Francophones.

This brings us to dependency on unemployment insurance. Such dependency is already 3.4 times higher in Prince Edward Island than in Canada as a whole. The figure climbs to 5 in the case of Prince County, and over 16 in the St. Louis region where unemployment insurance income represents 82% of employment income. The Wellington postal region, where a large proportion of Acadians is concentrated, seems less dependent on unemployment insurance. Yet it still faces a rate of dependency much higher than the province or the Atlantic region as a whole.

Economic structure: traditional and public sector jobs

The resource sector occupies a predominant place in Prince Edward Island's economy. One quarter of the province's labour force is employed in resource-related activities, compared with an average of just over 20% for the Atlantic region and Canada as a whole. In Prince County, the resource sector is dominated by the primary and secondary fishery industries and by agricultural activity. An even larger proportion of the labour force (31%) is employed in these sectors, which are very important for the Acadians of Prince County, employing 34% of their workers. They are primarily found in fisheries and processing, while Anglophones participate more in agriculture. The greater affinity shown by the county's Francophones for the resource sector can be explained by the fact that they are less urbanized and necessarily occupy fewer tertiary-sector jobs.

The public sector[10] is also a key area for the county, occupying 24% of the labour force. This is a small proportion in the context of the Atlantic provinces, however, where the rate is 27%. This sector is important because of its contribution in terms of income. The average salary in the public sector in 1991 was $21,400, compared with $13,700 in the county's goods-producing industries. The disparity is

---

[9] Unemployment insurance benefits for 1992 totalled $84 million for Prince County as a whole. For the postal regions in question, the data are as follows: Summerside - C1N ($5.6 million); Tignish - C0B 2B0 ($13.9 million); Wellington - C0B 2E0 ($4.6 million); Miscouche - C0B 1T0 ($2.7 million); St. Louis - C0B 1Z0 ($4.9 million); Richmond - C0B 1Y0 ($1.5 million). Source: Statistics Canada, Small Area and Administrative Data Division, specially ordered for 1992.

[10] The public sector includes the areas of education, health and government services, including defence (see Map 2, p 8).

attributable to the much lower level of seasonal employment in this sector, which employs a similar proportion of the labour force of both linguistic groups.

Table 5-Distribution of labour force by industrial sector, 1991

	Prince County			P.E.I.	Alantic	Canada
	Total	Franco.	Anglo.			
Resource sector[1]	31.2	34.3	30.8	24.6	20.5	20.6
Traditional services[2]	26.4	25.3	26.6	28.3	29.0	29.7
Financial services[3]	3.8	2.6	4.0	5.2	6.9	11.5
Public sector[4]	24.0	24.3	24.0	28.2	28.9	24.0

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.
[1] Primary activities (agriculture, fisheries, forestry and mines) and manufacturing sector.
[2] Wholesale and retail trade, hotels and restaurants, and personal services.
[3] Business services, and financial and insurance sector.
[4] Government services, education and health.

Of all Francophones in the Atlantic provinces, a much higher proportion in Prince County work in the goods-producing industries. Their share of the labour force in this sector also exceeds the national average by 62%. However, they are less well represented in the other services, particularly trade and financial services. The economic structure of the Francophone communities obviously varies considerably from one community to the next.

The proportion of the labour force in goods-producing industries is markedly higher in Abrams Village and in the Lot 15 communities (Mont Carmel), where the fishing industry is concentrated.

Occupational structure

Distribution of jobs according to type of occupation or profession gives another view of the region's economic structure. Unlike industrial structure, occupational structure takes account of the nature and therefore the quality of jobs, regardless of industrial sector. For example, the manufacturing sector encompasses a whole range of activities from labourer to technician, and from clerk to manager and administrator. The same is true of all the major industrial sectors, hence the importance of identifying jobs by occupation so as to have a better idea of their nature. This approach gives us a clearer picture of the disparities and allows us to interpret them in terms of strengths and weaknesses.

According to the 1991 census, 23% of the Francophone labour force in Prince County was employed in sectors where the salary level is higher than average, while 30% of Anglophone workers in the county were employed in sectors that could be described as well-paid (see Table 6). The only exception is the education sector, where more Francophones are employed, because of the control they have over

their school system. The most severe imbalance seems to be in the transportation and health sectors.

Table 6-Proportion of labour force in high-paying sectors in Prince County, 1991

Occupation	Average annual salary in 1991	Proportion of the labour force Franco. (%)	Anglo. (%)	Franco./Anglo. income
Management/ Administration	$28 800	4.8	7.4	0.89
Teaching	$24 940	4.5	3.8	0.92
Health	$23 585	2.9	5.2	0.69
Technical occupations	$21 855	3.6	4.7	0.72
Transportation	$20 625	3.1	4.7	1.05
Manufacturing and assembly	$19 040	4.1	4.5	0.66
Total - Occup. > Average		**23.0**	**30.3**	

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

Moreover, the salary level of Francophones is somewhat lower in five of the six sectors mentioned, with the exception of transportation. In general, the average annual income of Francophones is much lower than that of their Anglophone co-workers.

Education: an undereducated labour force

The occupational structure of Prince County reveals significant disparities between the minority and the majority. This disparity in the socio-economic profile of the Acadians stems in part from the fact that they are older and not as well educated. More than half (51%) of the county's Francophone labour force has not completed high school, compared with 41% of the Anglophone population. The national average is 28%, while the Atlantic average is 33%. At the other extreme, those who have gone to university, the figures are reversed: the proportion of Francophone workers in Prince County who have attended university is 11%, compared with 18% of Anglophone workers. This is much less than in Canada and the Atlantic region, where a quarter of workers have been to university.

Table 7- Education of labour force by first language, 1991

Community/Region	No high school diplioma		University education	
	Franco.	Anglo.	Franco.	Anglo.
Canada	28.1	28.6	21.4	26.6
P.E.I.	42.9	33.7	17.6	25.3
Prince	50.6	41.4	10.7	17.9
Rest of P.E.I.	22.6	30.2	35.6	28.6

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

This data is especially interesting in that it reflects two different types of structural disparities: the population's age structure and the economic activity structure. The high average age of the Acadian population and the extent of their participation in the resource sector both contribute to reducing the average level of education. This is common in many rural regions that are dependent on the resource sector. The effects of such a situation, when it persists, are well known. There is a progressive failure to adapt on the part of the workers who, for lack of training, find it difficult to assimilate new work methods and technologies. Their lack of mobility, both horizontal (sectoral) and vertical (within a company) stems from their lack of education and related experience in the labour market. This lack of experience stems in turn from their confinement to certain traditional sectors. There is no need to go on at length about the harmful consequences of failure to ensure and add to the education and training of the labour force. One example should suffice. From 1990 to 1994, the Canadian economy created 957,000 jobs, but lost 830,000. There was a net growth of 25% for workers with university degrees and an increase of 14% for those with high school diplomas. In contrast, there was a drop of 17% in jobs for workers who did not complete high school and a decrease of 23% for those with primary and elementary schooling only. Furthermore, most studies on labour markets predict that jobs will require increasingly advanced technical skills and knowledge. More than ever, the probability of keeping a job or finding another depends on one's level of education.

Undereducation is even more pronounced among the adult population (15 years and over) as a whole. Of the Francophones in Prince County, 62% do not have a high school diploma. The average is 50% for Anglophones in the same county, and 45% for the entire Atlantic region. Further, barely 9% of Acadian adults in Prince County have any university education to their credit, compared with 15% of Anglophones. The Atlantic average is approximately 19%. It should be noted that the average age of the Francophone population is detrimental to restoring the balance in terms of education.

Table 8-Education of adult population (15 years +), 1991

Community/Region	No diploma	Diploma	Non-university education	University
Canada	**38.2**	**18.7**	**22.3**	**20.8**
Atlantic	45.2	15.2	20.8	18.9
P.E.I.	43.1	15.4	20.8	20.7
Prince (Francophones)	62.1	13.6	15.5	8.8
(Anglophones)	49.7	16.6	18.9	14.8
Lot 15*	65.7	9.7	11.4	13.1
Wellington*	60.7	6.6	8.2	24.6
Abrams Village*	51.2	11.6	16.3	20.9

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.
* Primarily Acadian communities.

A similar picture emerges for the three communities in question, where the average level of education is markedly below the national average. In two of them, 60% of the population does not have a high school diploma, while 51% of the population of Abrams Village does not.

The picture is not totally bleak however. The proportion of adult Acadians in the Wellington and Abrams Village regions who have a university education is equal to or better than the national average. This can be explained by the relative concentration of tertiary-sector jobs in these regions, some in education but others in management/administration and the public sector.

Income level and source: overdependency

The income data compiled from the 1991 census reveals significant disparities between Prince County and elsewhere and between the county's Acadian minority and its Anglophone majority. On average, Anglophone workers earn 5% more than their Francophone counterparts, who suffer by comparison with Anglophones in most sectors, except those of sales and specialized services, and transportation. These imbalances are especially pronounced in the areas of health, technical occupations and manufacturing. There is also a lower salary structure for Francophones in the occupational sectors of management/administration and even education.

Table 9-Comparative income indexes by language for Prince County, 1991

	Proportion of labour force		Average employment income Can=100	
Occupation	**Francophone**	**Anglophone**	**Francophone**	**Anglophone**
Management/ Administration	4.8	7.4	100.8	112.7
Teaching	4.5	3.8	89.7	97.5
Health	2.9	5.2	64.6	93.0
Technical and personal	3.6	4.7	62.0	86.6
Office work	12.4	12.9	49.2	51.8
Specialized sales	6.0	6.2	68.2	60.9
Specialized services	17.5	14.0	60.5	54.0
Primary sector	17.9	17.3	55.8	59.5
Processing	11.0	7.0	37.1	39.2
Manufacturing and assembly	4.1	4.5	50.2	76.1
Construction	10.0	7.5	60.9	60.5
Transporation	3.1	4.7	83.5	79.7
Other occupations	2.2	4.6	60.3	45.4
All occupations	100.0	100.0	60.6	65.8

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

When compared with national standards, the situation is even less encouraging. The average employment income of the Francophones in Prince County barely exceeds 60% of the average income earned in Canada. This is the lowest average of all the minority Francophone groups and regions in the country. Average employment income for the Atlantic region is 78% of the national average.

Income tax data confirms this substantial disparity between the Francophone and Anglophone areas of Prince. Although this data is not broken down according to language, it is nevertheless possible to relate certain postal zones to predominantly Acadian communities. Since the Wellington postal zone serves a primarily

Francophone population, we can use these income figures for purposes of comparison by language group.

Table 10-Comparative income indexes by sex and region, 1992. (Francophones and Anglophones)

	Avg. income	Average employment income			Avg. income
Community/Region	**Total**	**Total**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men/Wom.**
Canada	100.0	100.0	120.2	76.1	63.3
Atlantic	81.5	77.6	93.1	57.9	62.2
P.E.I.	80.8	68.8	79.4	56.5	71.2
Prince County	74.0	58.7	67.7	47.9	70.8
Summerside (CIN)	77.3	68.0	79.0	55.4	70.1
Tignish	71.3	43.5	42.1	45.7	108.6
Wellington	70.3	54.6	51.0	60.8	119.2
Miscouche	67.8	53.9	59.5	46.8	78.7
St. Louis	62.1	34.2	39.2	27.9	71.2
Richmond	67.7	53.2	60.3	44.2	73.3

Source: Statistics Canada, Small Area and Administrative Data Division, specially ordered for 1992.

N.B. Prince County is part of the C0B postal region, which includes all of western P.E.I. This region is subdivided into 22 rural codes and 3 urban codes. We have included only those areas with the greatest representation of Francophones.

Average employment income, according to income tax records, ranges from 68% of the Canadian average in the Summerside region to 34% in the St. Louis region. The postal regions of Miscouche and Wellington, where there is a very high proportion of Francophones, have an average employment income equivalent to 54% of the national average, or 5 percentage points less than that of the county as a whole. This confirms the census data, which reveals approximately the same disparity between Francophones and Anglophones in Prince County.

Total income should also be compared with employment income. The discrepancy represents the proportion of transfers, most notably unemployment insurance. This comparison shows that the gap between these two forms of income is three times higher in Prince Edward Island than in the Atlantic provinces in general (12 percentage points as opposed to 4). In Prince County, the difference between total income and employment income is 26% higher than at the national level and 9% higher than at the provincial level. These figures reveal a greater dependency on transfers. This dependency is not as great in the case of Summerside but much worse in the Tignish and St. Louis regions. It is comparable to the county average in the Francophone regions of Wellington and Miscouche. The figures in Table 4 show the contribution to total income made by unemployment insurance.

Characteristics of the female labour force

The Acadian community in Prince County, like the rest of the country, has witnessed major changes in the labour market. The number of tertiary-sector jobs is increasing while traditional employment in the resource areas is stagnating and even declining. But one of the most obvious changes concerns the entry of women into the workplace. During the eighties, women claimed 70% of the net jobs created in Canada and 78% in the Atlantic region. In Prince Edward Island, 73% of net jobs went to women, thus increasing their proportion of the labour force from 40% to 46%[11].

But these spectacular advances in the labour market have not necessarily translated into a significant improvement in the area of income, at least for the time being. This is because the types of jobs generally occupied by women are in the areas of personal and commercial services, hotels and restaurants and office work. These occupations, as we have seen, receive far lower than average salaries. It should also be noted that the increased number of women in the labour market is partly attributable to the phenomenon of *atypical* jobs, employment in non-standard jobs, on contract or free-lance, and part-time work. A huge proportion of this new type of employment is going to women, who are often more flexible and mobile than men. The figures given here provide a clearer picture of these changes for the female Acadian labour force.

Better educated than men

Women are generally better educated than men, particularly in rural areas where jobs are traditionally occupied by men. The limited range of services offered in rural areas reduces employment opportunities for women, who have difficulty obtaining jobs in the resource sector. Their chances of employment in these sectors change, however, with the type of work and especially with the salary. Certain jobs, such as in the fish processing industry, are often passed up by men, since the processing industry offers only highly seasonal work and the average salary is extremely low. Women have more education than men in general. This is certainly true for the Acadian minority of Prince County. As many as 62% of male workers have not finished high school, compared with 38% of women, although this ratio is extreme in the Canadian context. Furthermore, the proportion of female workers with university education is nearly double that of men (14.3% as opposed to 7.6%).

---

[11] For more detail in this regard, consult *Dynamique des marchés régionaux du travail dans l'Atlantique*, a CIRRD (Moncton) study prepared under the direction of Maurice Beaudin, October 1994, section 4.3.

Table 11-Education of Francophone labour force by sex, 1991

	No high school diploma		University education	
Community/Region	**Men**	**Women**	**Men**	**Women**
Canada	31.2	24.3	20.3	22.7
P.E.I.	51.6	32.9	16.8	18.8
Prince	61.8	37.8	7.6	14.3
Rest of P.E.I.	25.0	19.8	40.6	30.9

Source: 1991 Census of Canada

An unfavourable employment structure for women

The female Acadian labour force, like women elsewhere, is largely concentrated in traditional services (38% of workers, compared with 32% of all Francophones in the Atlantic region). They also participate less in the public sector (30% compared with 41% of Francophone workers in the Atlantic region). Consequently, there are more of them in the resource sector. This distribution is unfavourable to women in that they primarily occupy jobs in lower-paying sectors, or subordinate positions within the higher-paying sectors.

Table 12-Comparative employment indexes by occupation and sex. Francophone labour force in Prince County, 1991

	Average annual salary in 1991	Prop. of total empl. (Francophones only)		Income
Occupation	**Franco. and Anglo.**	**Men**	**Women**	**Men/Women**
Management/Admin.	$28 880	4.3	5.3	0.56
Education	24 940	1.3	9.0	0.60
Health	23 585	-	5.8	-
Technical occupations	21 855	2.2	4.8	0.56
Transportation	20 625	5.6	-	-
Manufacturing/Assembly	19 040	6.9	-	-
Income > average		**20.7**	**24.9**	
Sales	15 890	6.5	4.8	0.39
Construction	15 620	17.3	-	-
Primary sector	15 260	29.4	3.7	0.76
Services	14 130	12.2	23.8	0.35
Office work	13 300	2.2	25.4	0.65
Processing	10 030	8.2	14.8	0.39
Other occupations	11 890	3.5	-	-
Income < average		**79.3**	**75.1**	
All occupations	**16 850**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**0.63**

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.
N.B. Figures omitted where samples were too small.

Table 12 reveals a certain structural advantage for the female labour force. Less than 21% of the male labour force is found in higher-paying activities, compared with 25% of female workers. But a more severe disparity is found in the area of average income with women receiving at most 60% of the average male salary. The disparity is greatest at the bottom of the hierarchy. Two thirds of the female labour force is found in three low-paying sectors: personal and commercial services, office work and processing. Only one out of three male workers is employed in these sectors, and even they generally earn a higher average income than the women.

For all occupations, the Acadian women in Prince County receive 63% of the average male income. Is this comparable to what is seen elsewhere? Absolutely. A job's income level is not related simply to whether the worker is male or female, however. Rather, these disparities can be primarily attributed to horizontal structure (distribution of workers among the sectors) and vertical structure (hierarchical level of jobs within sectors). As elsewhere in the country, a gradual shift is taking place toward tertiary-sector jobs. This may provide women with the chance to seize opportunities open in new fields. Their relatively higher educational level is certainly an asset, but there are still some barriers that tend to confine women to subordinate positions. Women must, at any price, gain access

to middle and senior positions in the fields of health, education and administrative management, if they are to reduce the income disparities separating them from men to any great extent. This has been taking place for some time, but at a fairly slow pace. Accelerating the pace would increase competition in the labour market, inevitably resulting in greater productivity on the part of the labour force. This would open up the possibility of additional gains benefiting not only women, but the entire population. It is not merely a question of women taking their rightful place. Rather, it means putting to use a human resource that is qualified, mobile, flexible and, above all, educated, but has not yet been fully tapped. More than ever, minority groups and peripheral regions must call on all their strength to secure their future.

Comparative status of the Acadian minority in Prince County

It is always difficult to arrive at a precise and objective assessment of a minority group's socio-economic vitality. We believe we have come up with a clear picture, even though some aspects have only been touched upon. Our analysis enables us at least to identify major trends and measure the performance of the Acadian minority in Prince County relative to the Anglophone majority and to regional and national standards.

To begin with, there are significant differences in demographic structure between the Acadian and Anglophone populations of the county. These differences can be attributed to the continued erosion of the younger age groups among the Francophone minority, an erosion caused by emigration and linguistic transfer. The active populations of the two groups do not differ as much as the younger and older age groups. The shortage of young people does not augur well for the Acadian minority. There is, however, respectable participation by the minority in the labour market, although the Summerside-Évangéline region is much more active than other areas. Opportunities are limited in the northern parts of the county for both the minority and the majority.

Overall, the Acadian minority is not well situated in relation to the economic structure of Prince County. Fewer of their workers are employed in high-paying sectors (where salaries are higher than average) and they are also at a disadvantage in terms of job hierarchy. The same difference exists between the male and female labour forces, regardless of the group or region in question.

What is the source of this structural imbalance? Two factors stand out. The first is the predominantly rural nature of the Acadian population and their relatively widespread distribution across the region; the second pertains to the education and certain characteristics of their labour force. Francophone workers in Prince County are somewhat undereducated in comparison with regional and provincial standards. Their confinement to traditional sectors does not encourage adaptation, which would require mobility, flexibility and more varied work experience.

However, significant differences are noted between the Francophones in the Évangéline region, particularly around Wellington, and those living throughout the rest of the county, especially the north (Tignish-Palmer Road region). It is almost as though there were two different communities: a relatively vital one occupying both traditional and professional jobs, and another that is highly concentrated in the resource sector and very dependent on transfers, notably unemployment insurance. These two groups can also be differentiated by their spatial cohesion: one is relatively concentrated, giving it the status of a linguistic majority; and the other is scattered about the region, thus accentuating its minority status. It comes as no surprise that the latter group of Acadians most often falls victim to assimilation.

Finally, some characteristics are specific to the female labour force. As elsewhere, women count for much more than their intrinsic part in the island's Acadian economy. Since they occupy a significant proportion of the new jobs, they are playing a leading role in the evolution and reconfiguration of the labour market. They are demanding the equal status to which they are fully entitled. We have demonstrated that their claims are thoroughly justified, and that the means of achieving such status lies in obtaining access to middle and upper job levels, in both the private and public sectors.

This overview is based solely on statistical indicators, although various sources have been incorporated and pertinent information relating to each of the themes has been discussed. It reflects the Acadian reality in Prince County in the early nineties. But the development and above all the vitality of a minority group cannot be depicted through this type of profile alone. This is why we have also conducted on-site visits. Discussion of these visits and a qualitative analysis of the community's organization, infrastructures, entrepreneurship, collective spirit and commitment are included in separate reports. This socio-economic profile should therefore be used as a guide and a reference that summarizes only the quantitative aspects of the minority group's comparative situation in its regional environment.

Part 2—Profile of the anglophone minority in the Gaspé

When reference is made to Quebec's Anglophone minority community, it is often with respect to the Montreal region, the Eastern Townships or the Outaouais. Rarely is there any mention of the linguistic minority in the Gaspé Peninsula. And yet no less than 11,000 Anglophones live in this region[12]. The largest concentrations are in the county of Bonaventure (communities of New Carlisle and New Richmond), Pabok County (Percé/Port-Daniel region), and the county of Côte-de-Gaspé. These groups are treated as one in the analysis that follows: we refer to the Gaspé, but are really looking primarily at those Anglophones who live on the south coast of the peninsula.

In this area of the Gaspé, there are 7,340 people who identified English as their first language (single responses) and 1,135 who identified both English and French. Anglophones represent about 12% of the region's population, compared with 8.7% province-wide. Bonaventure County has the largest number of Anglophones (2,960), as well as the only communities where Anglophones are in the majority, namely New Carlisle, Shigawake, Grande-Cascapédia, Saint-Jules and Hope Town. Groups that are significant in size, although in the minority, are found in Gaspé, Percé, New Richmond, Port-Daniel, Chandler, Bonaventure and Pabos Mills.

What is the economic position of the Gaspé Anglophones and what is their contribution to the region? As with the Acadian minority in Prince Edward Island, we will begin by outlining a comparative profile of this group. Once again, we will address six themes: demographic structure, labour market participation, economic structure, educational level, income, and some characteristics of the female labour force.

In Gaspé as in Prince Edward Island, there are appreciable disparities between the two linguistic communities. The cumulative effect of Anglophone migration has resulted in a rise in the average age of the population. This has inevitable consequences for Anglophones' participation in the labour market, the jobs they occupy, and their chances of adapting to a changing economy. Discussion of their situation in terms of each theme follows.

---

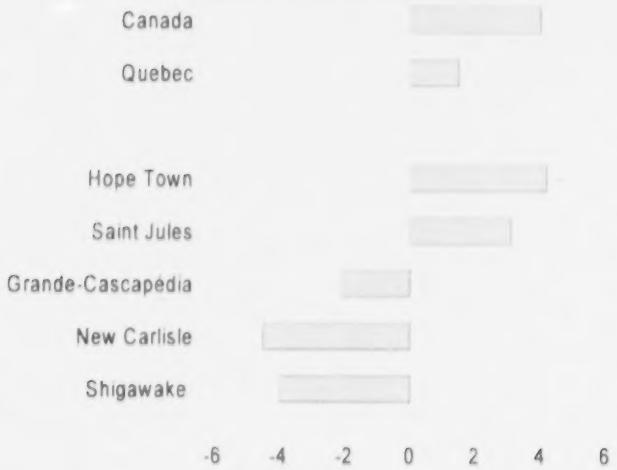
[12] For the purposes of this study, we are taking the Matapédia valley as the western boundary of the Gaspé region. In this area, 9,440 people identified English as their first language (single responses) and 1,740 people identified both English and French (multiple responses).

Demography and linguistics: a disproportionate adult population

Nearly half (40%) of the Anglophones on the south coast of the Gaspé Peninsula live in Bonaventure County, where the predominantly Anglophone communities of Grande-Cascapédia, New Carlisle, Saint-Jules, Shigawake and Hope Town are located. Although representing a strong majority in some communities, Anglophones make up only 15% of the county's total population. Another significant concentration (36%) is found in the area of Gaspé, where they constitute approximately 13% of the total population. The final group is in the county of Pabok, primarily in Percé and Port-Daniel. The proportion of Anglophones in Pabok County is around 8%.

Figure 4 - Development of the total population

Variation in % for 1981-86



Source: 1981 and 1986 Censuses of Canada.

Figure 5 - Development of the total population

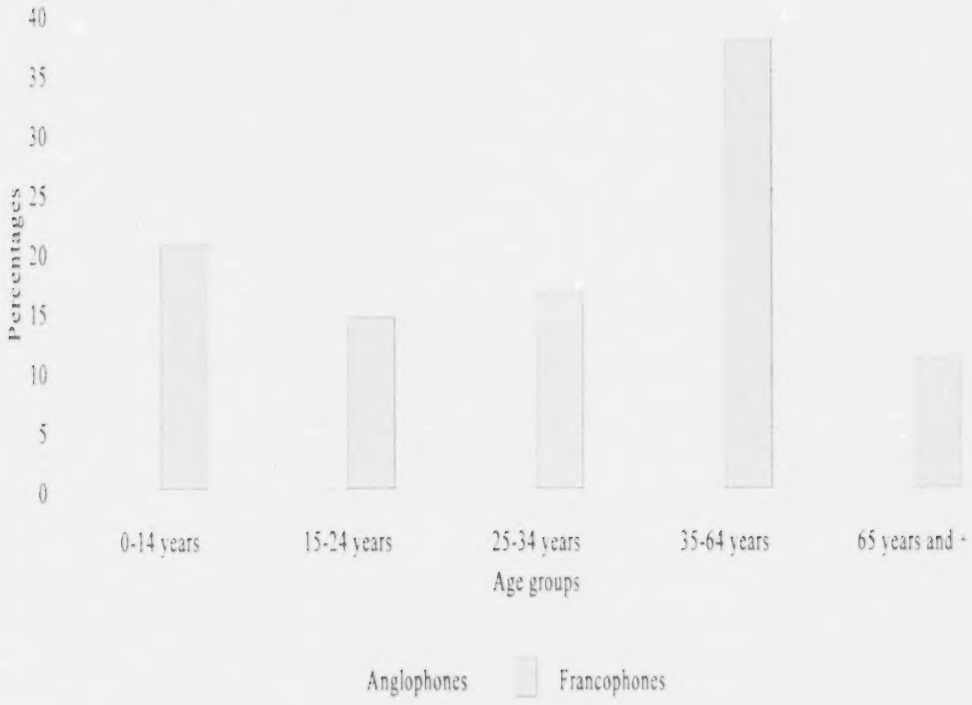
Variation in % for 1986-91

Source: 1986 and 1991 Censuses of Canada.

In terms of demographics, the Anglophone minority in the Gaspé region is gradually losing ground. The impact of these losses is lessened by the fact that the entire Gaspé is experiencing a dramatic drop in population. For example, between 1986 and 1991 alone, the total population of the three southern counties decreased by nearly 5,000, for a relative drop of 7%. Unfortunately we do not have separate data for the minority population. Looking at the five communities where they are in the majority, however, we can estimate their relative vitality. The total population of these communities decreased by a little over 7% during the same period, which suggests that Anglophones suffered a similar decline in numbers. However, the demographic vitality of Anglophones outside these five communities is dubious. The population of Shigawake diminished by some 22% during the eighties. The communities of New Carlisle and Saint-Jules also saw their numbers drop by 10% during this period. This trend is the reverse of what happened provincially (an increase of 7%) and nationally (an increase of 12%). And the decline intensified during the second half of the eighties.

This decline in population obviously has an impact on its structure, which in turn has major repercussions for socio-economic vitality. The first indicator is, of course, the demographic dependency rate (DDR), or the ratio between the working age population and the inactive population (under 15 years and 65 or older). In Canada, this rate hovers around 48%. The DDR for the three counties in question is also around 47%. But a significant disparity separates the linguistic groups. The Anglophones in the region have a DDR of 57%, while the DDR for the Francophone majority is only 46%. The Anglophone rate is particularly high in the counties of Pabok (65%) and Côte-de-Gaspé (60%). In contrast to the situation in Prince Edward Island, this imbalance is attributable to differences not in the younger age group, but in the adult populations of the two linguistic communities. Of the Anglophone population, 33% are under 25, compared with 35% of Francophones, an insignificant difference. This gap widens to 3.4 percentage points for the group aged 25-34 years. The high rate of demographic dependency is, however, attributable to the group aged 35 and over. This group makes up 48.5% of the entire Francophone population, compared with 53.5% of Anglophones. The structure of the two linguistic communities is most similar in Bonaventure County, where it may be assumed that there is a better socio-economic balance between the Anglophone minority and the Francophone majority. Lastly, nearly 17% of Gaspé Anglophones are 65 or older, while the number of Francophones in this age group is only 11%, equivalent to the national average.

Figure 6 - Demographic Structure of the Gaspé (south coast), Quebec



Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

Table 13-Comparative demographic structure of the Anglophone minority in the Gaspé (south coast), 1991

	Gaspé (%)		Quebec	Canada
Age group	**Anglophones**	**Francophones**	**Total (%)**	**Total (%)**
0-14	19.6	20.6	20.2	21.1
15-24	13.6	14.4	13.6	14.2
Youth (under 15 years)	**33.2**	**35.0**	**33.8**	**35.0**
Adults (25-34 years)	**13.1**	**16.5**	**18.1**	**17.8**
35-64	37.0	37.6	16.6	35.9
65 and +	16.6	10.9	21.1	10.9
35 years and over	**53.3**	**48.5**	**48.0**	**47.2**
Demographic dependency rate	56.7	45.9	44.1	48.1

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

Labour market: an adverse regional context

Minorities generally have less access to the labour market. When the regional labour market stagnates, as has been the case for a number of decades throughout the Gaspé, it can be even more difficult for the minority to participate fully. The Gaspé Peninsula and Magdalen Islands constitute a peripheral region with a struggling economy. One obvious sign of the area's marginalization is that its population fell by 6,500 between 1986 and 1991, a drop of 6%, whereas the total population of Quebec grew by 5.6%.

The 1991 census indicates a low rate of labour market participation in the Gaspé counties in question. The average activity rate is 57%, compared with 65% provincially. The region's Anglophones are much less active (45%) than the Francophone population (59%). In Pabok County, where the adult population is large, the activity rate is the lowest in the region and the difference between the majority and the minority is substantial: 57% for Francophones and barely 40% for Anglophones.

Unemployment figures provide a complement to the statistics for labour market participation. For the three counties, average unemployment was nearly 30% in 1991. This is two and a half times the Quebec average of about 12%. There are significant differences between each of the counties and even more so between the two linguistic communities. The county of Pabok seems to be in the worst shape with an unemployment rate at least 8% higher than that of its neighbours. The Anglophone minority in particular has an unemployment rate of nearly 50%. In the predominantly Anglophone communities, their participation is relatively high, around 54%, with a participation rate of 65% in Grande-Cascapédia. Anglophones

in New Carlisle, Hope Town, Saint-Jules and Shigawake are generally less active than their counterparts in Côte-de-Gaspé.

Census data on labour market participation and unemployment may be skewed in the case of small regions. We therefore looked at income tax records as well. Since this data is not broken down according to first language, only the predominantly Anglophone communities have been included. This data shows that the employment rate is decidedly below the provincial average in the Anglophone communities of New Carlisle and Shigawake. Grande-Cascapédia is comparable to Quebec as a whole. The same data shows a high rate of eligibility for unemployment insurance in these three communities. The proportion declaring employment income but also receiving unemployment insurance benefits in the postal regions of Shigawake and Grande-Cascapédia is 67% and 62% respectively. This proportion is somewhat lower in New Carlisle. For a better idea of dependency on unemployment insurance, it should be noted that the provincial ratio of unemployment insurance income to employment income is approximately 6.5%. This ratio is over 18% in New Carlisle, 33% in Grande-Cascapédia and as high as 49% in Shigawake. More than any other, this figure indicates the relative dependency of each of these regional economies.

Table 14-Overview of employment and unemployment, 1992. Population aged 15 and older: Anglophones and Francophones.

Postal region	Population	Empl. rate	Unempl. level	Unempl. insurance dependency rate UI/Empl[3]	Can=100
Canada	27,533,910	51.9	24.1	5.0	1.0
Quebec	6,897,710	50.7	29.6	6.5	1.3
Bonaventure County					
Bonaventure	2,920	35.8	49.3	20.0	4.0
Grande-Cascapédia	550	47.3	61.5	33.5	6.7
New Richmond	3,920	50.0	44.1	14.5	2.9
New Carlisle	1,750	35.4	46.8	18.5	3.7
Shigawake	600	30.0	66.7	49.0	9.8

Source: Statistics Canada, Small Area and Administrative Data Division, specially ordered for 1992.

[1]Ratio between population reporting employment and or unemployment insurance income and total population.

[2]Ratio between population receiving unemployment insurance income and population receiving employment income.

[3]Ratio between unemployment insurance and employment income.

N.B. Predominantly Anglophone communities (postal regions) appear in bold.

Economic structure: a weighted disparity

Industries based on resource exploitation and processing occupy more than one Quebec worker out of five (21.7%), a higher proportion than the national rate of 20.6%. In the Gaspé region, resources dominate the economic landscape to an even greater extent, generating over 26% of jobs. The proportion of jobs found in this sector is similar for both linguistic groups. There are some notable differences, however. For example, 14% of the Anglophone labour force is concentrated in primary activities, such as forestry and fisheries, compared with barely 10% of Francophone workers. In contrast, the proportion of the Francophone labour force found in the manufacturing sector is 17%; to the Anglophone proportion, 12%. This is one sign of a structural disparity affecting the Anglophone minority, since manufacturing jobs are generally better than jobs in the primary sector.

The second group is that of traditional services. Nearly 35% of the minority labour force is employed in this sector. This is a fairly high proportion compared with the provincial and national figures, which fall under 30%. This situation results in another structural disparity for the Anglophone community. Only 28% of Gaspé Francophones are employed in this sector. Traditional services include trade and retail sales, hotels and restaurants and personal services. These are secondary services, that is, they depend on economic growth more than they contribute to it. Productivity in these sectors is generally poor and salaries are much lower than

average. There are many atypical jobs involving non-standard employment such as free-lance, part-time or short-term work. Having a high proportion of the labour force in these sectors is not an indicator of economic vitality.

Table 15-Distribution of labour force by industrial sector in the Gaspé (south coast), 1991

	Gaspé (south coast)			Quebec	Canada
	Total	Anglo.	Franco.	Total	Total
Resource sector[1]	26.3	26.1	26.4	21.7	20.6
Traditional services[2]	28.8	34.8	28.1	29.7	29.7
Financial services[3]	4.9	4.0	5.0	11.0	11.5
Public sector[4]	27.8	21.2	28.5	24.1	240

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.
[1]Primary activities (agriculture, fisheries, forestry and mines) and manufacturing sector.
[2]Wholesale and retail trade, hotels and restaurants and personal services.
[3]Business services and financial and insurance sectors.
[4]Government services, education and health.

One sector that is rapidly changing in terms of organization and technology is the area of financial services. This is a high-productivity, high-paying field that has gained increasing importance in the Canadian economy. For Canada, approximately 11-12% of employment is found in this sector, and the numbers are similar in Quebec. This sector of the information economy tends to be concentrated in large centres. More and more, however, this type of employment is found in the regions. Given the growing competitiveness of this area, human resources have become relatively expensive. An attempt is under way to exploit the reserves of labour in the regions in order to lower the cost of human resources. This is increasingly possible because of rapid advances in the new information technologies and the establishment of telecommunication infrastructures in the regions. To be realistic, the Gaspé is not experiencing any sort of boom in relation to the decentralization of the financial sector at this time. It is possible, however, that the gap that separates this *peripheral* region from the provincial average in this sector will decrease. Barely 5% of the Gaspé labour force works in the financial sector at the moment, with the majority (5%) being slightly ahead of the Anglophone minority (4%). Anglophones could capitalize further on the changes taking place in this industry, however, since the financial sector is largely tied in to international networks where the language of business and trade is English.

The last sector examined is that of public services. This is an important area of activity in peripheral regions like the Gaspé, inasmuch as the employment and income that it generates substantially exceed regional tax receipts. The jobs are generally good ones requiring a professional labour force. The duration of

employment is rarely affected by seasonal cycles as happens in many other sectors. Of course, financial restraints in the federal and provincial government administrations are forcing them to rationalize their operations, particularly in the areas of health and education. Their relative importance is still considerable in the regions, however. They employ 28% of the labour force in the three Gaspé counties in question, compared with 24% provincially and nationally. The Anglophone minority participates much less in this sector, however, with only 21% of its workers employed (compared with 28.5% of Francophones). The imbalance is apparent in government services, health and social services. The situation is reversed in the area of education where we find a higher proportion of the Anglophone labour force (9.2%) compared with Francophones (8.6%).

To conclude this discussion of economic structure, it appears that goods-producing industries are much more important in the county of Pabok, where the proportion of the Anglophone labour force in these industries surpasses the national average by 65%, compared with 45% for the Francophone labour force. The fishing industry is responsible for the high level of Anglophone participation in this region. In the county of Bonaventure as well, a higher proportion of Anglophones is occupied in goods-producing industries. The proportion is smaller in the area of Gaspé, however, where Anglophones seem to be more involved in the public sector.

Table 16-Comparative economic structure of the Anglophone minority in the Gaspé, 1991. Canada = 100

Community/Region	Goods-producing industry	Public sector	Other services
Canada	**100**	**100**	**100**
Quebec	**102**	**100**	**99**
Anglophones			
Gaspé (south coast)	*114*	*88*	*98*
Pabok County	165	79	74
Côte-de Gaspé County	81	105	108
Bonaventure County	114	78	103
Francophones			
Gaspé (south coast)	*119*	*119*	*80*
Pabok County	145	111	69
Côte-de-Gaspé County	103	138	80
Bonaventure County	110	107	91
Predominantly Anglophone communities*			
Grande-Cascapédia	92	89	110
New Carlisle	59	127	109
Hope Town	163	108	61
Saint-Jules	33	57	158
Shigawake	159	70	82

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

*Including both Francophone and Anglophone populations.

Note: With such small communities, one major construction project is often enough to alter a community's employment statistics substantially. These figures should be interpreted with caution.

Regional distribution of public employment also presents a structural imbalance affecting the Anglophone population of the Gaspé. In all three counties, a much higher percentage of the Francophone labour force is employed in the public sector. This percentage even exceeds the national average by 38% in Côte-de-Gaspé. The Anglophone minority is well below national standards, except in the area of Gaspé. Even there, the relative proportion of the Anglophone labour force employed in the public sector is far from comparable to the Francophone figure.

The employment structure of the five predominantly Anglophone communities differs considerably from one to the other. The proportion of employment in the goods-producing industries ranges from 33% of the national average in Saint-Jules to approximately 160% in the communities of Hope Town and Shigawake. Employment in the public sector is proportionally greater in New Carlisle and Hope Town. Public sector employment is rather scarce in Saint-Jules and Shigawake.

Occupational structure

Other comparative indexes can be used to gain a better understanding of the differences in the economic structure of the Anglophone minority in the Gaspé. One method is to compile jobs not by industrial sector, but by type of occupation. This is referred to as occupational structure and gives a complementary picture by looking at the nature of jobs in the economy. These jobs can then be classified and grouped according to rate of pay, for example. A high-paying job is generally a professional, permanent one.

According to the 1991 census, 42.5% of the Anglophone labour force in the southern Gaspé was employed in sectors where the annual salary is higher than average. Of Francophone workers in the region, 43.6% occupied positions in these high-paying sectors. In contrast to what was observed for the Acadian minority in Prince Edward Island, the difference here is insignificant.

Table 17-Proportion of the Gaspé labour force in high-paying sectors, 1991

Occupation	Avg. annual salaray in 1991	Proportion of the labour force		Anglo./Franco. income
		Anglo.	Franco.	
Teaching	$31 809	6.7	6.0	1.07
Health	$32 226	3.3	6.5	0.89
Management/Admin.	$28 670	7.5	7.8	0.94
Manufacturing/Assembly	$24 912	4.2	6.1	1.31
Technical occupations	$22 671	5.8	6.1	6.91
Transportation	$22 404	7.9	3.9	0.93
Construction	$21 897	7.1	7.2	0.96
Total - Occup. > Avg.		**42.5**	**43.6**	

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

Anglophones keep pace thanks to two sectors, transportation and education. These sectors employ 14.6% of Anglophone workers, compared with 9.9% of Francophones. The field of education is even more important for the Anglophone minority since their average salary in this area is higher than that of Francophones. Of the seven high-paying sectors, Anglophones maintain their salary advantage only in education and manufacturing. The Gaspé's minority population is therefore at a disadvantage in the area of salary structure.

Education: a mixed situation

According to the last census, the Anglophone minority is not as well educated as the Francophone majority, which itself falls below provincial and national standards. For a clearer picture, the educational levels of the labour force and the adult population (15 years and older), which includes the inactive population, will be considered separately. Beginning with the labour force, more than 42% of Anglophone workers do not have a high school diploma, whereas this proportion is only 25% for all Anglophones in Quebec. A significant although smaller portion (35%) of the Francophone majority in the Gaspé is also in this undereducated group. With respect to university, the Anglophone minority is in a better position, since its proportion of university-educated workers exceeds that of the Francophone labour force. The educational level is far from provincial and national standards however, and also very far from the level observed for all Anglophones in Quebec.

Table 18-Education of labour force by first language in the Gaspé, 1991

	No high school diploma		University	
Community/Region	**Anglo.**	**Franco.**	**Anglo.**	**Franco.**
Canada	28.1	28.6	21.4	26.6
Quebec	24.8	25.4	34.5	22.1
Gaspé (south coast)	42.6	35.4	14.9	14.4

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

Turning to the educational level of the adult population, we find the disparities more pronounced in some cases and more subtle in others. At first glance, it is surprising to see a reversal of the situation for less advanced of education (no high school diploma). More Francophones (59%) than Anglophones (44%) fall into this category. From this, it can be deduced that the inactive Francophone population is much less well educated than the inactive Anglophones. These Anglophones could have greater access to the labour market by capitalizing on their higher level of education, provided their average age is not too great. There is also a higher percentage of university-educated Anglophones in the Gaspé: 13% of the adult population has been to university, compared with only 7% in the case of the linguistic majority. The highest level of education is found in the county of Gaspé and the lowest in the county of Pabok. This corresponds closely to the occupational structure of each group.

Table 19-Education of adult population (15 years +) in the Gaspé, 1991

Community/Region	No high school dipl.	High school diploma	Non-university education	University education
Canada	**38.2**	**18.7**	**22.3**	**20.8**
Quebec	**39.1**	**22.6**	**20.3**	**18.1**
Anglophones				
Gaspé (south coast)	*43.6*	*22.3*	*20.7*	*13.4*
Pabok	67.2	12.5	15.9	5.3
Côte-de-Gaspé	35.9	24.6	23.9	15.6
Bonaventure	57.4	20.1	11.7	10.2
Francophones				
Gaspé (south coast)	*59.0*	*18.6*	*15.5*	*7.0*
Pabok	60.0	17.2	16.4	6.4
Côte-de-Gaspé	74.6	12.4	10.0	3.0
Bonaventure	49.6	23.4	17.2	9.8
Grande-Cascapédia*	51.1	10.6	21.3	17.0
New Carlisle*	48.3	17.7	14.7	19.3
Hope Town*	73.2	7.1	5.4	14.3
Saint-Jules*	71.4	14.3	10.2	4.1
Shigawake*	52.2	23.9	9.0	14.9

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.
*Predominantly Anglophone communities.

The situation in the predominantly Anglophone communities is somewhat paradoxical. These communities have a high proportion of adults with little education, and a high proportion with university degrees. The figures are fairly varied from one community to another, however. In Hope Town and Saint-Jules, more than 70% of the adult population has not completed high school, a much higher proportion than anywhere else. Grande-Cascapédia and New Carlisle have a particularly well-educated adult population, since more than a third of this group has post-secondary and university education. These linguistic and regional differences have a direct impact on income levels. In Part 1, we saw the interrelationship between the educational level of a population and its economic vitality. The Anglophone minority in the Gaspé is not highly educated in general. In the regional context, however, and especially in relation to the Francophone majority, it does have a comparative advantage. But how does the Anglophone minority in the Gaspé compare in terms of income?

Income level and source: insignificant linguistic differences

The first conclusive income indicator, average income by worker, is the same for Anglophones and Francophones on the south coast of the Gaspé: it represented 76% of the national average in 1991. This is considerably lower than the provincial

average, which was 94% of average employment income in Canada. The disparity is a regional and sectoral one.

In terms of occupations first, average employment income for Anglophones is higher than for the Francophone majority in five out of thirteen job categories. These are, in order of importance, processing, office work, manufacturing/assembly, teaching, and other occupations. Excluding the last group, the four categories employ approximately 30% of Anglophone workers, compared with 35% of the majority labour force. The Anglophone minority in the Gaspé therefore has a smaller proportion of its labour force in sectors with generally higher income levels.

Table 20-Comparative income indexes by language for the Gaspé region (south coast), 1991

	Proportion of labour force		Avgerage employment income Can=100	
Occupation	**Anglo.**	**Franco.**	**Anglo.**	**Franco.**
Management/Administration	7.5	7.8	105.5	111.7
Personal and technical occup.	5.8	6.1	80.3	88.7
Teaching	6.7	6.0	130.8	122.3
Health	3.3	6.5	111.4	125.6
Office work	13.3	15.4	67.8	58.0
Specialized sales	7.7	7.5	58.7	61.0
Specialized services	15.8	13.2	39.8	45.1
Primary sector	11.0	10.1	54.1	54.9
Processing	5.6	7.4	109.0	67.8
Manufacturing and assembly	4.2	6.1	108.5	95.6
Construction	7.1	7.2	82.1	85.2
Transportation	7.9	3.9	81.6	88.0
Other occupations	4.1	2.8	65.3	57.2
All occupations	100.0	100.0	76.0	76.6

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

As we did for the Acadian minority in Prince County, we are now going to compare employment income with total income for the two linguistic communities. A different source of information is used for this comparison, namely income tax records, which are compiled differently in that the geographic regions examined correspond to postal regions; these exceed the boundaries of the communities by which they are identified. Finally, this data applies to the entire population and not to one linguistic community in particular. Nevertheless, the information in Table 21 is very useful for evaluating the state of dependency of the communities.

The various Gaspé communities differ greatly in terms of income. Out of fifteen postal regions covering our territory, only six earn an average total income higher than 70% of the Canadian average. The region of Murdochville, thanks to its mining industry, is the only area with a total income higher than the national

average. Employment income is particularly low in the regions of Percé, Port-Daniel, Shigawake, Newport and Grande-Cascapédia, where significant groups of Anglophones live. One general observation is that the Gaspé Anglophones are found in communities where the annual average income is relatively low. This explains their relative dependency on transfers, as seen in Table 14. The predominantly Anglophone communities of Grande-Cascapédia, Shigawake and New Carlisle all depend heavily on unemployment insurance benefits. This type of income represents 19% of employment income in the best case and 49% in the worst case, while the Quebec average is 6.5%.

Table 21-Comparative income indexes by region. Postal regions in southern Gaspé. 1992

Community/Region	Average total income	Average employment income
Canada	100.0	100.0
Quebec	91.6	94.3
Bonaventure County		
New Richmond	84.1	82.4
Grande-Cascapédia	**74.4**	**59.8**
New Carlisle	**68.9**	**73.4**
Shigawake	**55.5**	**46.2**
Bonaventure	54.0	73.1
Pabok County		
Chandler	87.8	90.5
Pabos	73.0	68.6
Newport	69.5	54.7
Percé	67.1	41.3
Port-Daniel	56.5	44.7
Côte-de-Gaspé County		
Murdochville	105.3	112.9
Gaspé	87.3	89.1
Grande-Vallée	70.6	67.6
Cloridorme	63.8	54.7
Petite-Vallée	59.6	46.9

Source: Statistics Canada, Small Area and Administrative Data Division, specially ordered for 1992.

N.B. Predominantly Anglophone communities (postal regions) are in bold.

Characteristics of the female labour force

In the first part of this study (section 1.6), we discussed the entry of women into the labour market. We also noted their role in the reconfiguration of the labour market through their generally positive contribution to the rapidly changing economy of today. This is one of the reasons for their indisputable success in penetrating labour markets. However, we also noted severe disparities between the average incomes

of women and men. These disparities stem primarily from an unfavourable occupational structure, and from their lack of access to more senior hierarchial levels in most, if not all, occupations. We will not repeat the discussion here, except to describe the specific situation of women in the Gaspé, particularly those in the linguistic minority.

Table 22-Comparative income indexes by sex and region. Postal regions in southern Gaspé, 1992

Community/Region	Average employment income Men	Women	Fem./Male Income
Canada	120.2	76.1	63.0
Quebec	112.0	72.5	64.7
Bonaventure County			
New Richmond	96.4	62.3	64.6
Grande-Cascapédia	**68.3**	**48.9**	**71.6**
New Carlisle	**87.4**	**57.1**	**65.3**
Shigawake	**46.4**	**45.8**	**98.7**
Bonaventure	88.2	54.9	62.2
Pabok County			
Chandler	111.7	63.9	57.2
Pabos	78.2	56.7	72.5
Newport	63.1	42.8	67.8
Percé	46.6	35.9	77.0
Port-Daniel	46.7	39.6	84.8
Côte-de-Gaspé County			
Murdochville	144.6	61.5	42.5
Gaspé	99.3	76.8	77.3
Grande-Vallée	78.8	50.2	63.7
Cloridorme	62.6	39.5	63.0
Petite-Vallee	58.8	42.7	72.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Small Area and Administrative Data Division, specially ordered for 1992.

N.B. Predominantly Anglophone communities (postal regions) are in bold.

The income disparity between men and women exists throughout the Gaspé. This disparity is not, however, any worse than elsewhere. In Canada and in Quebec, women earn an average employment income equivalent to a little less than 65% of the average male income. Of the fifteen postal regions covering the territory in question, there are only three where the disparity between men and women is more severe. These are the regions of Bonaventure, Chandler and Murdochville. The disparity in the latter region can be attributed to the high salaries earned by (male) workers in the mining sector. Of the predominantly Anglophone communities (postal regions), only the women in Shigawake have income parity with men. This is small consolation, however, since employment income in this community amounts to only 46% of the national average. A closer look at participation in the

labour market and unemployment should help to explain this disparity between the sexes.

In Canada in general, women have less access to the labour market. Their activity rate was 60% in 1991, as opposed to 76% for men. In the Gaspé, the disparity is even greater, particularly among the Anglophone minority. There is a difference of 23 percentage points in favour of Anglophone men, compared with 14 percentage points for the Francophone majority. Among the Gaspé Anglophones, an average of one woman in three is active in the labour market. This is a very low rate of participation. For example, the Acadian women in Prince Edward Island have a participation rate of over 50%. Women are more active in the area of Gaspé, but even there they are far from achieving parity with Francophone women. There are also many disparities in the area of unemployment. For Anglophones in the Gaspé, unemployment is lower among women than men (see Table 23). The incidence of unemployment is nevertheless very high for all groups, whether minority or majority. It is particularly acute in the county of Pabok, where we also find the greatest disparities between Anglophones and Francophones, to the detriment of the minority of course.

Table 23-Activity rate and unemployment by sex and region, 1991

	Activity rate		Difference between women/men in (%)		Unempl. rate	
Community/Region	**Men**	**Wom.**	**Activity**	**Unempl.**	**Men**	**Wom**
Canada	76.4	59.9	-16.5	+0.1	10.1	10.2
Anglophones						
Gaspé (south coast)	*57.4*	*34.5*	*-22.9*	*-7.3*	*32.4*	*25.1*
Pabok	53.5	30.1	-23.4	-3.8	51.3	47.5
Côte-de-Gaspé	58.0	39.3	-18.7	-16.8	30.8	14.0
Bonaventure	59.1	32.5	-26.6	+2.2	23.8	26.0
Francophones						
Gaspé (south coast)	*65.5*	*51.6*	*-13.9*	*-0.9*	*24.5*	*23.6*
Pabok	62.6	50.3	-12.3	+0.6	28.6	29.2
Côte-de-Gaspé	67.7	53.1	-14.6	-1.3	22.5	21.2
Bonaventure	66.8	51.4	-15.4	-2.4	22.0	19.6

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.

Comparative status of the Anglophone minority in the Gaspé

Since the early eighties, the total population of the three southern counties in the Gaspé Peninsula has dropped considerably. This decrease contrasts with the demographic growth that has taken place in Quebec and Canada over the same period. In the regional context, the Anglophone minority has seen a decline in its numbers as well. This trend is very apparent in the predominantly Anglophone communities. Moreover, the demographic structure of the Anglophone minority is weighted toward the older age groups. This rise in average age is common to most linguistic minorities in the older regions of the country. We also noted the minority's poor participation in the labour market, particularly in the county of Pabok. In general, the economic structure of the Anglophone communities is dominated by traditional services and the resource sector. As a result, jobs are often temporary and short-term. Seasonal activities, particularly fishing, keep both Anglophones and Francophones in a number of Gaspé communities in a state of overdependency on unemployment insurance. Finally, the Anglophone minority has much less access to public sector jobs than the majority. The disparity is apparent in government administration and in the field of health. The two linguistic groups have a similar proportion of high-level jobs, that is, jobs offering a higher-than-average annual income. Differences in salary structure are apparent, but are less significant than those between the two linguistic communities in Prince Edward Island's Prince County.

With respect to education, the Anglophone minority in the Gaspé compares well to the Francophone population. There are proportionally more Anglophones than Francophones with a low level of education (no high school diploma), but there is a fair representation of Anglophones among the ranks of those with higher levels of education. When compared with Anglophones throughout the province of Quebec, however, there is a significant disparity. But this is also true for the majority group. Finally, Anglophone women in this region suffer in comparison with both men and Francophone women. This stems primarily from their low rate of participation in the labour market, but is also attributable to occupational structure. The female Anglophone labour force in Pabok County experiences significant disparities in this regard, while those in the Gaspé area seem to be more in line with the rest of the population.

Appendix

Table A1-Linguistic profile of Francophone respondents in Prince County, Prince Edward Island, 1991

Community/Region	Total	Single response BMT*	Multiple responses French and English	Other
P.E.I.	**6,285**	**5,414**	**855**	**15**
Prince County	**4,595**	**4,070**	**520**	**5**
Summerside region	**1,310**	**1,140**	**160**	**5**
Summerside (Town)	660	570	95	-
St. Eleanors (Com)	295	265	35	-
Miscouche	165	150	10	-
Wilmot (Com)	90	70	10	5
Lot 17 Linklet./Sherbr.	100	85	10	-
Évangéline region	**1,795**	**1,710**	**85**	**5**
Lot 15	925	85	40	-
Abrams Village (Com)	285	275	5	5
Lot 16	145	140	10	-
Wellington (Com)	285	275	10	-
Lot 14	155	135	20	-
Northern Prince region	**1,230**	**1,020**	**210**	**5**
Lot 2	500	430	65	-
St. Louis (Com)	25	25	-	-
Miminegash (Com)	10	5	5	-
Lot 1	400	325	80	-
Tignish (Com)	150	130	25	-
Lot 4	25	15	10	-
Alberton (Town)	40	30	5	-
Lot 5	45	35	10	5
Lot 3	35	25	10	-
Centre and south of county	**260**	**200**	**65**	**-**

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.
Prepared by Strategic Research and Analysis, Department of Canadian Heritage.
*Respondents by mother tongue (French) (single response).

Table A2-Linguistic profile of Anglophone respondents in the Gaspé, 1991

Community/Region	Total	Single response BMT*	Multiple responses English and French	Other
QUEBEC (Province)	**738,645**	**601,405**	**91,590**	**45,645**
Gaspé (south coast)	**8,380**	**7,235**	**1,135**	**5**
Bonaventure County	**3,340**	**2,960**	**380**	**-**
New Carlisle (SD)	975	930	45	-
New Richmond (SD)	830	705	135	-
Shigawake (SD)	255	240	15	-
Grande-Cascapédia	230	220	15	-
Saint-Jules (SD)	230	205	20	-
Hope Town (SD)	200	195	5	-
Bonaventure (SD)	225	185	35	-
Côte-de-Gaspé (County)	**2,925**	**2,545**	**380**	**-**
Gaspé (Town)	2,715	2,395	320	-
Pabok County	**2,115**	**1,730**	**375**	**5**
Percé (Town)	930	00	130	5
Port-Daniel (SD)	430	390	40	-
Chandler (Town)	230	180	55	-
Pabos Mills (SD)	200	165	35	-

Source: 1991 Census of Canada.
Prepared by: Strategic Research and Analysis, Department of Canadian Heritage.
*Respondents by mother tongue (English) (single response).

Phase II: Interviews conducted in selected linguistic minority communities in Prince Edward Island and Quebec

Introduction

In this phase of the project, the team carried out on-site visits in linguistic minority communities in the Évangéline and Palmer-Tignish regions of Prince Edward Island, and six linguistic minority communities on the south coast of the Gaspé Peninsula. As well, interviews were conducted by telephone in the Town of Gaspé, the Magdalen Islands, Rimouski, and Quebec City. In the Province of Quebec the interviews were conducted by George De Benedetti. In Prince Edward Island, the interviews were conducted jointly by George De Benedetti and René Boudreau. As well, Maurice Beaudin was present for a focus group session in Wellington, Prince Edward Island.

In each community we tried to interview a cross-section of the community, typically: civic leaders, leaders of the *Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin* in Prince Edward Island, leaders of CASA (Committee for Anglophone Social Action) in Quebec, members of volunteer groups in the community, officials of various development agencies and industrial commissions, established business persons, emerging entrepreneurs, union leaders, homemakers, young people, and retired persons. The purpose of the interviews was to get the perspective of people in the selected communities on specific questions, which were asked in each locale. Accordingly, the answers to the questions often reflected people's impressions of events, and it was not possible to verify all statements by respondents for accuracy. However, how people perceive facts is often as important as, or more important than, the facts themselves. There is a certain value in having such perspectives. Nevertheless, under the circumstances and in the time allowed, the interviewers made efforts to reconcile seemingly conflicting statements through some follow-up interviews by telephone.

The questions sought to learn how people of linguistic minority communities participate in local economic development, and how linguistic minority communities contribute to the economic well-being of the local, regional, and national economies.

We wish to thank the many people in the various communities who took the time to be interviewed, and we thank them for their useful insights. We also thank Mrs. Joan Richards of CASA and Madame Lise Arsenault of the *Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin* for their help in arranging interviews. Our special thanks go to Colette Allain, our secretary, for a job well-done on this final copy.

Part I—Francophone communities in Prince County, Prince Edward Island

Évangéline

Introduction

West of Summerside there is a Francophone enclave, mainly of Acadian descent, known as "the Évangéline region" which comprises Wellington and the surrounding communities of Abram Village, Mont Carmel, Cap Egmont, St. Chrisostome, St. Philippe, Baie-Egmont, St. Hubert, St. Gilbert, Urbainville, Maximeville, St. Timothée and St. Raphael. In Évangéline, there is a French school (grades 1 to 12) and thriving French communities. Approximately 2,500 persons whose mother tongue is French live in Évangéline.[13] Although Évangéline is not an incorporated area, the various communities in the region effectively function as one community in terms of economic development.

Question 1a: What organizational structure for economic development is in place in the community?

There is one industrial commission called *Commission industrielle de la Baie Acadienne*. It was established in 1978, and is responsible for four communities in West Prince. Two members of the board are from Wellington, two from Baie-Egmont, and two from Mont Carmel. The commission encourages interchange among community leaders to promote economic development, through activities such as breakfast meetings. They also promote existing businesses and help potential entrepreneurs establish new businesses. One of the commission's capital projects was to create a *centre commercial* in Wellington. This small shopping centre was subsequently turned over to the private sector. Included in the complex are a drug store, medical offices, a small restaurant, and a consumer co-operative which moved from older quarters.

The industrial commission then bought the building which had housed the consumers' co-operative and turned it into a *Centre d'affaires communautaires*, which acts as a centre for several agencies. Among them is the *Centre de services régional* , which is a government office created in 1982 to provide all provincial services in French and English. As well, it provides office services to volunteer groups. The Centre also houses the *Secrétariat des affaires francophones*, which provides French services for provincial government departments.

---

[13] Based on an interview with Mr. Armand Arsenault, *Directeur du Centre de Services Régional Évangéline*, Wellington, P.E.I., March 1995. According to the 1991 Census, Statistics Canada report 1,710 persons or 52.2 % of the population in Évangéline whose mother tongue was French.

Funding for the secretariat comes through a federal-provincial co-operation agreement to promote the French language in P.E.I. The federal government's share in the 1994-95 fiscal year was approximately $1.5 to $1.6 million, and the provincial share was approximately $800,000. The entente not only enables the provision of French services in the province, but also supports the socio-economic development of the Francophone community. There is also an agreement between the provinces of Quebec and P.E.I., whereby each province contributes approximately $40,000 annually.[14] Two other agreements exist, which do not receive funding: one is between the Maritime Provinces and P.E.I., and the other is between Louisiana and P.E.I.

Another institution housed in the *Centre d'affaires communautaires* is *La Société éducative de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard*. This is the first postsecondary institution for Francophones on the Island. It was established in October 1994 through the initiative of the *Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin*. The multimedia centre in the building, under the direction of Mr. Aubrey Cormier, provides access to the curriculum of *Collège l'Acadie* in Nova Scotia for the purpose of distance adult education. There are programs funded by Human Resources Development to integrate Francophone women into the labour force, with a co-ordinator in the building, and an entrepreneurship program for the youth. Human Resource Development also sponsors training courses at the multimedia centre in the building. This postsecondary institution is provincially funded through an annual grant of $40,000 and an additional $15,000 paid annually for services.[15] The multimedia centre is plugged into the Internet and is a model for other communities on the Island and elsewhere.

Other occupants of the *Centre d'affaires communautaires* are the industrial commission, which owns the building, the regional committee of the *Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin*, an accounting firm from Summerside which provides services in the French language, *l'Office des catéchèses des Maritimes*, the co-ordinator of *Les Jeux de l'Acadie*, and some employees of the provincial government, such as a full-time French speech pathologist from Health and Community Services, representatives of Economic Development and Tourism, the Cultural Heritage and Recreational Division of the Department of Education, a fish and wildlife officer from Environmental Resources, and the Director of the Regional Service Centre and his secretary, who are staff members of the Department of the Provincial Treasury. As well, representatives from federal agencies such as Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), Federal Business Development Bank[16] (FBDB),

---

[14] Information on funding was obtained from an interview with Mrs. Claudette Arseneau-Thériault, *directrice, Secrétariat des affaires francophones*, Wellington, March 1995.

[15] From an interview with Mr. Aubry Cormier, *directeur général de la Société Éducative, Î.-P.-É.*, Wellington, March 1995.

[16] The FBDB was renamed the Business Development Bank of Canada on July 1, 1995.

and Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) use the facilities on their visits to clients in the region.

This *Centre d'affaires communautaires* is a promising innovation that not only provides a place where clients can receive many services, but also provides a locale for agents and agencies, catering to the needs of the Francophones in the immediate area, to interact with each other. Such a centre can act as a model for the provision of services to language minority groups in other areas.

Other development institutions in the region are the *Association touristique, Conseil de la coopération*, the risk capital arm of the *Caisse populaire*, and the West Prince Community Futures with its lending arm, West Prince Ventures. Although the SDE (*Société de développement de la région Évangéline*) developed a strategic plan for the area, there has not been any development plan implemented for the region. Under a proposed reorganization of economic development agencies in the province, the Gardiner-Penfield Report has recommended one Regional (Economic) Development Agency (RDA) for Évangéline, East Prince, Queens, and Kings. Several respondents expressed concern about this proposal. If this proposal was adopted, the French mandate of the local industrial commission would be destroyed. There was a counterproposal from the community in Évangéline that there could be one RDA (*Société de développement de la région Évangéline*) for Évangéline and Miscouche. That would give this RDA a local mandate, so it could act as an umbrella group and be sensitive to the needs of the Acadian community.

Question 2a: Does the community have a strategic development plan in place?

The Évangéline region adopted a development plan proposed by the *Société de développement de la région Évangéline*. Eighty-five people endorsed the plan at a public meeting in Wellington, but the plan was never implemented.

Question 3a: How do you assess the leadership in Évangéline?

There are many strong leaders in the community.

Question 3b: Whom would you consider the leaders to be in Évangéline?

They are educators, public servants, entrepreneurs, and they work co-operatively for the community.

Question 4a: What strengths do you see in Évangéline?

One major strength of the region is the co-operative movement. The region has the highest coop density in Canada. There are approximately 19 co-operatives in Évangéline, which serve various needs of the people, ranging from cable-tv services to a community-operated funeral parlour. The young are attuned to forming co-operatives, even in the schools.

There are also many volunteers in the area who are well-educated. People are very generous with their time and through their financial support of local causes. They co-operate extremely well. When the Acadian Games (*Les Jeux de l'Acadie*) were put on by the region, there were 1,200 volunteers out of a population of approximately 2,500 Francophones.[17] This strength derives in part from the homogeneous nature of the society in terms of the French language and the Roman Catholic religion. This cohesive force in language, culture, religion, and pride in community carries over to development initiatives.

Respondents cited the presence of a French school and the multimedia centre for postsecondary education as strengths. So was the proximity to Moncton. Many young people go to the *Université de Moncton* and many settle in New Brunswick, or elsewhere. Nevertheless, the fact that they return periodically contributes to the local economy.

Several respondents repeated their comments about the vibrancy of the community, the strong spirit of co-operation in the community, its many leaders and volunteers, the solidarity of the people, and the strong sense of heritage, commitment, and loyalty to the community.

Question 4b: What weaknesses do you see in Évangéline?

The main weakness cited was the lack of marketing skills in the region. For example, there is a co-operative for the making of sports clothing and children's clothing but there is no local marketing capability. The Old Barrel Co-operative, which produced potato chips, failed largely because of an improper knowledge of markets.

Another weakness widely perceived was that the same people contributed as volunteers for the many organizations. One respondent added that there too many organizations. The lack of full-time employment, which was influencing young people to leave the area, was another.

One person stated that two camps were working at odds with each other: one comprised persons in the private sector and the industrial commission, the other comprised those individuals who had a vested interest in the co-operative movement.

Question 5a: What are the pressing needs concerning infrastructure?

There is need to develop the beaches and to create a golf course in the region. As well, more Acadian suppers are needed in the area. These would be complementary

---

[17] Based on an interview with Mr. Armand Arsenault, *Directeur du Centre de Services Régional Évangéline*, Wellington, P.E.I., March 1995. According to the 1991 Census reported 1,710 persons or 52.2% of the population in Évangéline whose mother tongue was French.

attractions for Francophone tourists to the Acadian Village in Mont Carmel, for example.

One respondent said there is need for an industrial park in Evangeline. Nearby Summerside has an industrial park in the former military base, and the town of Summerside subsidizes the cost of land in a firm's first three years of operation. Another said there is need for one federal office to serve Francophones, just as there is one provincial office to do so.

Some respondents said there is a need for an umbrella group for economic development. One respondent suggested an economic council which would encompass two representatives from the tourist sector, two from the co-operative movement, and two entrepreneurs from the private sector. Some small firms are looking for a chamber of commerce.

Yet another respondent suggested that a communications broker is needed for the various organizations. Perhaps a resource person from the multimedia centre could operate an electronic bulletin board on the Internet.

Question 6a: Are there a sufficient number of entrepreneurs in Évangéline?

The entrepreneurial pool is growing. One respondent explained that for a long time the Roman Catholic Church discouraged entrepreneurship. Another thought that the strong co-operative movement stifled entrepreneurship. There is a movement away from the co-operative, as a form of business organization, to private firms. Many people are interested in starting businesses but they lack financing and management skills.

Many entrepreneurs are over 40. The younger ones go to Summerside where the town offers land rent free to a new firm in the first year. In the second year, there is a charge of $1.50 a square foot, and in the third year, $3.50 a square foot. This is a big advantage for anyone starting a business.

The number of fishers has decreased from approximately forty-five to thirty-six because of government buy-outs.

Question 7a: Does being in a minority situation present additional difficulties or barriers to economic development? Explain.

Some respondents stated that there is lack of access to government agencies and programs because many forms of the development agencies are in English.

Question 7b: Conversely, does the community benefit from being in a minority situation? How?

The advantage in having a bilingual labour force is that people can operate in both languages. This should give them access to different programs.

Question 8a: How would you evaluate the efforts of government agencies charged with the task of economic development?

Respondents praised the efforts of the Tourist Association. In 1995, approximately 102,448 visitors came to the Évangéline region, most of them from New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec and the U.S.A. The estimated $2.9 million spent by these tourists is a substantial contribution to the Island economy, relative to the 5% proportion of the Francophone population.[18] According to the Tourist Association, the number of tourists should increase by 20% with the completion of the fixed link.

One respondent stated that when DRIE existed, it had local offices which were more visible and accessible to people in the area. Now ACOA is being administered from Charlottetown and making contact is more costly.

Another respondent claimed that the industrial commission is not proactive. It waits for applications and ideas. The commission produces annual plans but does not implement them.

Question 8b: Are these agencies sensitive to the needs of linguistic minority communities in their development efforts?

There was a consensus that ACOA served the needs of the Francophones well, as does the provincial Ministry of Economic Development and Tourism, and the *Secrétariat des affaires francophones*.

The provincial agencies are more sensitive to the needs of the Francophones than the federal agencies because of the existence and efforts of the *Secrétariat des affaires francophones*. There should be a similar secretariat at the federal level which could handle all enquiries for various government departments in French. However, one respondent did say that there were some difficulties at the provincial level because it was perceived that the Évangéline region receives enough funding federally, especially through ACOA.

Various respondents reported that there were language barriers in dealing with development agencies. Community Futures in Summerside has a Francophone representative on its board, but does not offer services in French. The employment programs through HRD are administered in English. So are NRC grants. One entrepreneur complained that his application for funding was delayed approximately 18 months because he made the application in French. Such delays discourage entrepreneurship.

---

[18] Enterprise Prince Edward Island, Research Division, *The Economic Impact of Tourism—1995*, Charlottetown, undated, pages 44, 48.

When government development agencies advertise, there is some advertising done in French but not to the same extent as in English. This is also true in the private sector. For example, approximately $60,000 was spent on advertising for the fixed link project but there were no ads placed in the *Voix Acadienne*. There should be a stipulation in federal agreements and federal contracts that advertisements be in both languages.

Question 8c: Do these agencies see linguistic minority communities as assets to the region?

The government of P.E.I. does view the Francophone communities as assets, as evidenced by the financial and moral support the government provides. Recently, Premier Catherine Callbeck presented a plaque of appreciation to the *Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin* for its efforts and the contribution made to the Island by the Francophone linguistic community.

Question 9a: Are partnerships very significant in the region?

There is co-operation among communities to promote tourism in the region. Partnerships between P.E.I. and Quebec, the Maritime provinces, and Louisiana have been formed for tourist promotion and cultural purposes. There are many visitors annually to the Island from Louisiana through *Tours Acadie*. The Acadians on the Island by nature seek partnerships with nations in the *Francophonie*, and with such organizations as the SAANB (*Société des Acadiens et des Acadiennes du Nouveau Brunswick*).

Question 12: What special contributions does your community, as a linguistic minority community, make to the economic well-being of the region?

There is enormous potential to the Island economy because of the Francophone presence in the province, especially through tourism, and through the bilingual labour force. One respondent remarked that the Acadians always had to make the best of their scarce resources because of being a disadvantaged minority, and consequently they have become very innovative people. This was demonstrated by the success of the recent *Congrès mondial acadien* in New Brunswick.

The Francophone community in Evangeline makes a special contribution to the Island economy by attracting tourists from the United States, Atlantic Canada, and from Quebec. Tourists come for special attractions such as the forthcoming international dance festival which is expected to attract 200 dancers, their families and spectators. Some Anglophones come to Évangéline as a learning experience for their children who are studying French immersion in other parts of Canada.

The services of artists, actors, and musicians contribute to the economy. Bilingual entrepreneurs are also assets to the region and the Island economy. The education centre in Wellington with its multimedia capabilities can serve as a model for other

communities to adopt. Already, their expertise in providing distance education, especially in the French language, is being exported to the rest of the Island and elsewhere in Canada. By using the multimedia centre to improve their education, residents of Évangéline also gain mastery of the new technology, which increases their adaptability in the new economy.

Other ways that the people of Évangéline contribute to the Island economy are their success in the co-operative movement and their lead in terms of providing entrepreneurship training in the French language, with a focus on training women and young people.

Evangeline is an example of a region providing hope for other linguistic minority communities. The region displays a spirit of partnership and unity for the economic and cultural benefit of all parties.

Question 13: Do you have a special message for the Department of Canadian Heritage?

Do not weaken the commitment to French services. The federal-provincial agreement by which there is a 75/25% cost funding arrangement guarantees a five-year commitment for Francophone services. There should be more such co-operative agreements by the federal and provincial governments, especially for community economic development. With the new Canada Social Transfers, funds designated for Francophones could become jeopardized in the province. There should be some guarantee of funds for linguistic minorities through federal-provincial co-operation agreements.

Another important theme that emerged was that the Department of Canadian Heritage should invest in a strategic economic development plan for Evangeline. By making the economy of Évangéline stronger and less dependent on personal transfer payments, the more likely that the culture will be preserved.

Tignish, Palmer Road, and surrounding area

Introduction

Approximately 63 kilometres to the Northwest of Wellington, the heart of Evangéline country, is the municipality of Tignish, and within 15 kilometres of Tignish are the communities of Palmer Road and St. Louis. This, too, is Acadian country. Unlike Évangéline, the Francophones in the Tignish area of Prince do not have their own schools. Although there are support organizations, the Acadians in this region are much more assimilated, and many no longer speak French. In the region of North Prince (including Lots 1-5, Tignish, and surrounding area) there are 1,030 persons or 11.2% of the population who claim French as their mother tongue. In the community of Tignish, there are 125 persons or 14.0 percent of the population who claim French as their mother tongue.[19]

Question 1a: What organizational structure for economic development is in place in the communities?

Several respondents were aware of the West Prince Industrial Commission, the West Prince Inter-Agency, the West Prince Community Futures, the West Prince Ventures, the Coop Council, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Merchants' Association. One respondent was aware of the Federal Business Development Bank in Charlottetown. Some respondents suggested that there be one economic development umbrella group.

Some activities of the Industrial Commission to which respondents referred were loans made to local businesses, the establishment of an incubator mall across from Kentucky Fried Chicken, the opening of a fun park in the Mill River Resort, and through Tignish Initiatives, the Commission bought a former convent and are making it into a bed and breakfast. Also, the West Prince Industrial Commission is developing a West Prince tourist guide publication. One respondent thought the Commission could develop one-stop shopping for economic development services. Another respondent said that the Merchants' Association in Tignish was promoting tourism in the area.

Question 2a: Do the communities have a strategic development plan in place?

There is no strategic development plan in place in either Tignish or Palmer Road. One respondent suggested that an overall plan might be possible if an umbrella group was in place.

---

[19] Statistics Canada, 1991 Census.

Question 3a: How do you assess the leadership in the communities?

The responses were mixed. Some said the mayor and the council in Tignish work for the whole community, not promoting one linguistic group over the other. Others remarked that it appeared that the town was not promoting one linguistic group over the other because business and planning were conducted as if the town was an Anglophone community, and the Francophone nature of the community was only promoted when it was to the town's advantage. For example, the organizing committee for the upcoming bicentennial celebrations is English-dominated. However, under the guise of special events like the disembarkment of the Acadians, some Acadian culture will become part of the celebrations. Still others said that leadership was lacking in both linguistic communities and expressed particular concern over the viability of French as a spoken language in the area.

Question 4a: What strengths do you see in the communities?

The co-operative movement is strong. There are several co-operatives in the area including a blueberry producers' co-operative, a peat moss producers' co-operative, a fishers' co-operative, a health centre, a consumer co-operative, a credit union, a feed mill, a saw mill, the Ti-Pa (Tignish-Palmer Road) Social Club, a funeral co-operative on Palmer Road, and a co-operative residence for physically and mentally challenged persons.

Tignish is a tightly knit community. One unifying factor is that residents belong predominantly to the Roman Catholic religion.

Tignish has the largest small-craft harbour in the Maritimes, which is an asset to the fishermen and to the tourist sector. As well, the Wind Reef Restaurant on the North Cape attracts tourists, as do Elephant Rock and the nearby Mill River Resort.

The *Community Bulletin - Bulletin communautaire*, a bilingual publication, is an asset to the community. So are other bilingual institutions such as the kindergarten, the Ti-Pa Social Club, and the *club d'âge d'or*.

Question 4b: What weaknesses do you see in the communities?

Spending is down in the community due to several factors: changes in unemployment insurance eligibility, the decline in the fishery which has traditionally been a principal employer, a decline in activity on the potato farms because grading is now done in the McCain and Cavendish Farm plants elsewhere, and an exodus of young people from the region.

Question 5a: What are the pressing needs concerning infrastructure?

Many needs were identified: housing for seniors, a tourist bureau, an agency to promote local tourism, a campsite in Tignish, trails for summer tourism, a resource

person for economic development, a kindergarten integrated in the school system, and renovations to the harbour.

Question 6a: Are there a sufficient number of entrepreneurs in the communities?

One respondent said there were too few entrepreneurs due to the depressed nature of the region's economy and the lack of entrepreneurial training in the area. Where individuals are cautious about taking risks, co-operatives are formed.

Question 7a: Does being in a minority situation present additional difficulties or barriers to economic development? Explain.

One respondent said that the community was not ready to support a group or agency perceived to serve a minority.

Another respondent commented that there should be no problem since almost everyone speaks English, the working language of the area. Yet another respondent claimed unilingual Anglophones had difficulties getting hired because employers were looking for bilingual workers.

Question 7b: Conversely, do the communities benefit from being in a minority situation? How?

One respondent said the community did benefit from its linguistic minority because more support is provided for special cultural events and for institutions such as the bilingual *Community Bulletin*.

Question 8a: How would you evaluate the efforts of government agencies charged with the task of economic development?

There were only two responses to this question. One was that West Prince Ventures was doing a good job. The other was that the industrial commission does no active promotion, and that it does not encourage existing local businesses.

Question 8b: Are these agencies sensitive to the needs of linguistic minority communities in their development efforts?

One respondent said that the agencies were sensitive to Francophones. The other said it was not likely that someone would get served in French, even in the health sector.

Question 9a: Are partnerships very significant in the region?

Through the West Prince Tourist Association, the communities of Tignish, Alberton, and O'Leary work together for tourist promotion. There is co-operation between Tignish, Alberton, and other communities along the shore for the Irish

Moss Festival during the Canada Day weekend. Similarly, the Palmer Road picnic in August encompasses all the area. Also, there is co-operation among the local communities for the Tignish Bicentennial in 1999.

Question 10a: Are the communities of Tignish and Palmer Road an integral part of a network?

One respondent said that the Tignish and Palmer Road communities are marginally networked with Évangéline for cultural purposes. Another respondent stated that the Tignish area is isolated through organizational structures and by geography. It is physically distant from Charlottetown, and, many public servants treat the Tignish area as if it were part of Evangeline.

Question 12: What special contributions do your communities, as linguistic minority communities, make to the economic well-being of the region?

The biggest contribution is in the tourist sector. There are special institutions which draw tourists to this area, such as Henri Gaudet's Museum, where many wish to trace their genealogy, the French dinner theatre in Tignish, and the Acadian week at the beginning of April. Then there are the contributions of the musicians, and artists from the area.

Another contribution to the local economy is that linguistic minority communities are more apt to support local businesses.

The French immersion program in the schools provides a pool of bilingual workers for elsewhere.

Question 13: Do you have a special message for the Department of Canadian Heritage?

One respondent replied that originally the *Centre culturel* received approximately $20,000 a year from the Department of Canadian Heritage. The centre now receives approximately $9,000 a year. If more money was spent in the region by the Department, there would be a greater chance that the French language could be preserved.

Part 2—Anglophone communities in the Gaspé peninsula and the Magdalen Islands

Grande Cascapédia and Saint-Jules

Introduction

Grande Cascapédia, with a population of 270 in 1991, and Saint-Jules, with a population of 370, are on either side of the Cascapédia River on the south coast of the Gaspé Peninsula near the Baie des Chaleurs. English is the mother tongue of most of the population in each of these small communities, 79.6% in Grande Cascapédia, and 56.8% in Saint-Jules.[20]

Question 1a: What organizational structure for economic development is in place in the communities?

In Grande Cascapédia, there is *La Société de gestion pour la rivière Grande Cascapédia*, an equal partnership between the predominantly local English community and the Micmacs on the Gesgapegiag reserve (formerly known as the Mira reserve), which manages the salmon river that has traditionally attracted American and other English-speaking tourists. Anglophones have traditionally been good managers of the salmon rivers in the Gaspé. The partnership that exists through the corporation is a model of co-operation between two minority groups.

There is the MRC (Municipal Regional Council) of Bonaventure which is responsible for the region that extends from Saint-Jules to Port Daniel. The Council is interested in land-use planning, tourism, and agriculture. Presently, there is a tourism plan in place for the area, including a tourism park. The MRC is also organizing the forestry centre for cutting on Crown lands and allows local people to cut and sell the wood to sawmills.

Some respondents were aware of the CRCD (*Commission régionale de consultation et de développement de la Gaspésie et des Îles-de-la-Madeleine*) which has developed a strategic development plan for the Gaspé Peninsula and the Magdalen Islands for 1993-1998. The CRCD has a budget of $4 million annually. One objective of the CRCD is to encourage the various MRCs to take more responsibility for local development.

Because of the small size of the communities, neither Saint-Jules or Grande Cascapédia have an organization or a full-time person responsible for economic development. However, in Saint-Jules, one person on the village council is responsible for economic development and he is trying to develop a plan.

---

[20] Statistics Canada, 1991 Census.

None of the respondents were aware of federal development agencies, except the planning activities on the Mira Reserve.

Question 1b: Are there a sufficient number of development organizations?

One respondent felt that CASA, the Committee for Anglophone Social Action, should be involved in economic development.

Question 2a: Do the communities have strategic development plans in place?

La Société de gestion pour la rivière Grande Cascapédia, which employs approximately 130 people on the Grande Cascapédia River, is operating under a 15-year agreement. The respondents were not aware of any development plan for Cascapédia or the surrounding area.

Question 2b: Do people in each of the communities have the capability of coming together and formulating a plan?

One person responded "no", because "the same few people are doing everything."

Question 3a: How do you assess the leadership in the communities?

All respondents stated that there was a lack of leadership when it came to economic development.

Question 4a: What strengths do you see in the communities?

The greatest strengths are the Grande Cascapédia and the Petite Cascapédia salmon rivers.

In nearby New Richmond, all agreed the strength is the British Heritage Village. Another strength is that both the French and English co-operate. Nearby Pin Rouge exemplifies this: the ski hill was developed by communities of both linguistic groups.

Agriculture in the area, especially beef production, is a strength of the entire region. Another asset is the presence of the highest mountain range east of the Rockies, where there are some exploration and testing of the mineral deposit necessary to make vermiculite.

Question 4b: What weaknesses do you see in the communities?

The area has a small population, is located far from markets, and suffers from an exodus of young people.

There is a lack of passenger transportation facilities. Residents have to travel to Charlo, New Brunswick for scheduled passenger flights, and passenger train service has been severely curtailed.

Another weakness is the short-growing season for agriculture. There is no English postsecondary institution in the Gaspé region. Anglophones must go either to English universities in the Montreal area, or to Fredericton, or to Sackville, N.B. Also, there are no English CEGEPs. Although the CEGEP in the town of Gaspé offers selected courses in English, most Anglophone youth have to travel to Montreal to attend English CEGEPs.

The Gaspé region is in the wrong time zone. Geographically, part of the area is just north of New Brunswick and part is east of New Brunswick on Atlantic time, an hour ahead of Quebec which is in the Eastern time-zone. The Gaspé is on the eastern end of the Eastern time zone which extends west to the Manitoba border. Because of this, it gets dark very early in the Gaspé.

Question 5a: What are the pressing needs concerning infrastructure?

- There is a need for a more accessible passenger airport and the need for better roads.

- Saint-Jules needs a storage garage for municipal vehicles.

Question 6a: Are there a sufficient number of entrepreneurs in the communities?

Most respondents stated that there are not enough entrepreneurs. There are some young entrepreneurs. However, there is a shrinkage in the pool of entrepreneurs because of an aging population. Most of the entrepreneurs are craftspeople or in retail trade.

One respondent is a new entrepreneur who started a store and a mail-order catalogue for the salmon sport-fishery. Another entrepreneur is a fishing guide who operates independently of the camps. These enterprises increase the potential for tourism. However, there is still a need in the tourism sector for someone to supply or rent mountain bikes and provide horseback riding.

Question 7a: Does being in a linguistic minority situation present additional difficulties or barriers to economic development? Explain.

Some respondents stated that being in a minority situation does not present additional difficulties or barriers to economic development. However, most felt that it is a problem. The shared language of the workplace is French and a unilingual Anglophone business person would be disadvantaged. Unilingual English-speaking entrepreneurs would also have difficulties in dealing with government development agencies. Then there are the added costs of translation

for the small-business person. For example, one small firm in the sports-fishery supply business, which publishes its mail-order catalogue in French in compliance with Quebec law, must then translate the catalogue for the main tourist market outside Quebec.

Question 8a: How would you evaluate the efforts of government agencies charged with the task of economic development?

There was only one response to this question and the person was unaware of the efforts of any government development agency.

Question 8b: Are these agencies sensitive to the needs of linguistic minority communities in their development efforts?

One respondent claimed that the agencies are not sensitive to the Anglophone community in that the agencies hire Francophones who are not truly bilingual. He also stated that the agencies do not perceive English communities as assets to the region.

Another respondent, who is perfectly bilingual, communicates with government economic agencies in French and thus is not able to ascertain whether there would be a lack of sensitivity to the English community. He added that social services are not always provided in English, and sometimes there is a lack of sensitivity toward the linguistic minority.

Question 8c: Do these agencies see linguistic minority communities as assets to the region?

Agencies do recognize the economic value of such institutions as the British Heritage (Loyalist) Village in nearby New Richmond, and Anglophones, in co-operation with the Mira native reserve, through the *Société de gestion de Saumon de la rivière Cascapédia*, manage the salmon river.

Several responded that government agencies tend to ignore the English community.

Question 9a: Are partnerships very significant in the region?

The consensus was that partnerships did not play a significant role in the region. There is the exception of the partnership that was set up to manage the Cascapédia River.

Question 9b: Are partnerships very significant among neighbouring communities?

Generally, there is no co-operation among communities at the municipal level for purposes of economic development. For example, St- Jules and Cascapédia, which are very small communities on either side of Grande Cascapédia River, are autonomous communities, sharing only fire equipment.

There is co-operation among English communities as to cultural activities.

Question 9c: Are partnerships significant among firms in a particular sector?

One person's response was that there is generally good co-operation within the same sector between English and French firms.

Question 10: Are the communities integral parts of a network?

There is certainly a network of Anglophone communities through CASA and through the English school board. There is also a common interest among neighbouring communities in the regional hospital. Otherwise, the communities are isolated from each other.

Question 11: How do you rate the relations with other communities?

There is little contact with other communities, including other linguistic communities.

Question 12: What special contributions do your communities, as linguistic minority communities, make to the economic well-being of the region?

Generally, the English make a large contribution to tourism because the Anglophone communities can serve the English-speaking tourists in their own language. Such sites as the British Heritage Village in nearby New Richmond attract many English-speaking tourists to the Gaspé region.

Historically, the English were the entrepreneurs, such as Robin Jones in the fishery sector and William Cuthbert in shipbuilding. There were English firms in the forestry and lumbering sectors such as Bathurst Pulp and Paper, H. Smith, Reid Lumber Mills and Starraic Lumber Mills.

The English have traditionally managed the Grande Cascapédia River and continue to do so in partnership with the native reserve. Sport fishing on this river has brought in many tourist dollars.

Linguistic minority communities sometime attract return migrants. One example is an entrepreneur in Cascapédia who has returned from the West and started an oxygen business that supplies hospitals and industry.

New Richmond

Introduction

New Richmond, with a population of 4,010 in 1991, is one of the larger towns in the Gaspé.[21] Although Loyalists founded the community, only 17.6% of the population claim English as their mother tongue. The community acts as a service centre in Bonaventure County, and its economy is largely based on the forestry and agriculture sectors.

Question 1a: What organizational structure for economic development is in place in the community?

There was no general awareness of development agencies or structures. The Mayor of New Richmond reported the existence of *La Commission de développement économique - Ville de New Richmond*, an organization for economic development at the municipal level.

Some were made aware of the CRCD (*Commission régionale de consultation et de développement*) de la Gaspésie et des Îles-de-la-Madeleine, a federation of municipalities, through the Mayor. One respondent claimed that the CRCD strategic plan was developed without formal input from the English communities. The CRCD paid 80% of the cost of signage for the Heritage Centre under a tourism grant and subsidized 80% of the salary of the management director of the Heritage Centre under an employment creation program.

Mr. Patrick Gagnon, the MP for Gaspé and the Islands, is aware of several organizations. There is the BFDQ (*Bureau fédéral de développement du Québec*) and the FBDB (Federal Business Development Bank) that provide loans, and are both located in Rimouski. The business arm of the Community Futures program also provides loans. The HRD (Human Resource Development) office has a program called *Travail Baie des Chaleurs*. There is also an organization called *Société de développement de la Gaspésie et des Îles*, which has an annual budget of $400,000. For the promotion of tourism, there is the *Baie-des-Chaleurs* tourist committee in New Richmond, and a tourism program, whose acronym is ATR, for all of the Gaspé.

Question 2a: Does the community have a strategic development plan in place?

There is no strategic plan in place. *La Commission du développement économique - Ville de New Richmond* has two employees with an annual budget of $85,000. The Commission has its own independent board and is financed by the town council. It has one representative of the council on its board. The Commission conducts feasibility studies and provides advice, but it gives no grants. However, it does give

---

[21] Statistics Canada, 1991 Census.

tax concessions. The town grants a 100% property tax exemption to firms in their first two years of operation. The commission has established some sectoral committees, such as forestry and tourism. It also participates in the Christmas Lighting activity of CIDAC.

Question 3a: How do you assess the leadership in the community?

Locally, there are a dynamic mayor and council who are interested in promoting local development and tourism.

On a regional scale, the editor of *Spec* was critical of CASA's leadership with respect to the Bélanger Commission hearings.[22] CASA chose not to participate in these hearings because it did not want to give credibility to the commission, which had a mandate to write the constitution of an independent Quebec.[23] Some Anglophones thought that CASA should have used the occasion to promote the English minority linguistic community and to acknowledge the contributions Anglophones make to the Gaspé region.

Question 4a: What strengths do you see in the community?

New Richmond is a service centre for the surrounding area.

Beef raising is a strength in the region. In New Richmond, there is the New Richmond Fairgrounds where they auction cattle and the price is set before the cattle leave the area. Previously, the price producers were paid was based on the weight of the cattle upon reaching the market, at which time the stock had experienced weight loss and there may have been adverse price movements in the market.

Stone Pulp and Paper, which employs 225 people is a definite strength to the community. The facility burns wood chips, contributing to the region's economy.

There are many strengths in tourism such as the British Heritage Centre, which attracts approximately 15,000 visitors annually, the salmon rivers, and the neighbouring ski hill in Pin Rouge. As well, there are annual festivals such as *Fêtes de l'été*. There are plans underway to initiate family reunions with such festivals. Next year, they plan a reunion for the LeBlanc family. There is also an international auto rally, and there is a commercial exposition in August. Last year, 8,000 to 10,000 people came to the exposition. Both linguistic groups contribute to the success of New Richmond's tourist industry.

---

[22] See editorial in January 15, 1995 issue of *Spec*.

[23] See the letter to the editor by the president of CASA in the February 26, 1995 issue of *Spec*.

Question 4b: What weaknesses do you see in the community?

The weaknesses are its small population and distance to markets.

Question 5a: What are the pressing needs concerning infrastructure?

The pressing needs as to infrastructure are English media of all types. The only English newspaper in all of the Gaspé is the weekly *Spec*. There is a problem with both television and radio communications in the Gaspé region because of the interference of the mountains. English television comes mainly from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia channels. People listen to New Brunswick radio, and consequently very little news of Quebec filters through to the English community in the Gaspé.

One respondent said nothing was lacking by way of infrastructure. Another said there should be less bureaucracy.

Question 6a: Are there a sufficient number of entrepreneurs in the community?

There are not enough entrepreneurs in the region. The pool of entrepreneurs, especially English entrepreneurs, is shrinking because the population is dwindling. However, there is some fostering of entrepreneurship. At the CEGEP in the town of Gaspé, there is a training program called *Formation des jeunes entrepreneurs*, aimed at young entrepreneurs. This course is only available in French. The industrial commission in New Richmond is starting an incubator mall in New Richmond to encourage new businesses.

Many Anglophones are becoming self-employed because of the increasing difficulty of linguistic minority people in obtaining work in an economically depressed region.

Question 6b: Are the entrepreneurs supported and encouraged by the population?

The Anglophone population strives to support its own entrepreneurs.

Question 7a: Does being in a linguistic minority situation present additional difficulties or barriers to economic development? Explain.

One respondent stated that the English are not asked to participate in economic development plans or efforts. They are not even made aware of plans or meetings. They are totally excluded from the process. The advertisements for such planning commissions or activities are exclusively done in French, and therefore do not reach the English community.

Question 8a: How would you evaluate the efforts of government agencies charged with the task of economic development?

One respondent praises the efforts of the government agronomists.

Question 8b: Are these agencies sensitive to the needs of linguistic minority communities in their development efforts?

- One respondent stated that the agronomists provide provincial services in English on request.

- Another respondent claimed that federal agencies discriminate against Anglophones more so than provincial agencies.

Question 8c: Do these agencies see linguistic minority communities as assets to the region?

One respondent stated that the government development agencies perceive linguistic minorities as liabilities.

Question 9a: Are partnerships very significant in the region?

Partnerships are not common.

Question 9b: Are partnerships very significant among neighbouring communities?

There are partnerships and cooperation among the communities through the MRC and GATBC (Gaspé Adventure Tourism Baie des Chaleurs). For example, various communities co-operated in the creation of a rest stop in Escuminac. However, there is also rivalry between communities. For example, New Richmond and Carleton fought over Pin Rouge, a ski facility.

Question 11: How do you rate the relations with other communities?

Relations between the communities are difficult because of the language barriers. Another respondent thought that there were no problems.

Question 12: What special contributions does your community, as a linguistic minority community, make to the economic well-being of the region?

- Historically, the English have contributed to the regional economy in many ways. Anglophones still contribute to the economy as entrepreneurs, and through tourism with such attractions as the British Heritage Centre in New Richmond.

- The Anglophones are a bridge between the Francophones in Quebec and the rest of Canada.

- CASA helped fund a home for senior citizens in New Richmond with twenty beds, and now sponsors events in various communities.

Question 13: Do you have a special message for the Department of Canadian Heritage?

The common response was that the Department of Canadian Heritage should provide more funding to English Gaspesians and Magdalen Islanders. Several of those interviewed expressed the view that English Gaspesians received less funding from the Department of Canadian Heritage than their Francophone counterparts in Prince Edward Island.[24] However, there were some *individual and unrelated responses* and they are listed below:

- The Department of Canadian Heritage should commemorate the battle of the St. Lawrence from the Second World War; this would attract many tourists to the area.

- The Department of Canadian Heritage should provide direct support to the newspapers *Spec* in the Gaspé, the *Sun* in Eastern Townships, and the *First Informer* on the Magdalen Islands.

- CASA has a committee in each town but CASA does not call meetings locally. Consequently, there is low participation among members of CASA.

- The British Heritage Centre in New Richmond should become multicultural and reflect the heritage of the Francophones and Acadians, as well as that of the British.

---

[24] Obtaining a direct coomparison of funding to the Francophones in Prince County, P.E.I., and to the Anglophones in the Gaspé Peninsula is difficult. Funding data from the Department of Canadian Heritage to Francophones in P.E.I. are aggregated with those of New Brunswick, and the funding to the Gaspé is aggregated with the rest of Quebec. Also, in P.E.I., there is some funding from the provincial government which is not the case in Quebec. Then, there is the added difficulty of taking into account the differences in scale economies in serving constituencies of different sizes and population densities.

New Carlisle

Introduction

New Carlisle, with a population of 1,570 in 1991, has one of the larger concentrations of Anglophones in the Gaspé. The community was founded by Loyalists and 59.6% of the population claim English as their mother tongue.[25] The town is a cultural centre for the Anglophone community of the Gaspé. It is home to CASA and the Gaspesian English weekly newspaper, *Spec*. New Carlisle has English schools and an English school board office. It is also a distribution centre for CN.

Question 1a: What organizational structure for economic development is in place in the community?

There is a development committee called the *Comité de développement de New Carlisle* which is a separate entity from the town council. However, the committee has a representative of the town council on its board and receives funding from the council. The committee has formed a welcome wagon and provides a catalogue of services to newcomers to the town. Members of the committee are concerned about the loss of several regional provincial government offices and are concerned about the impending loss of the telephone company office in town.

The consensus was that the committee was not effective in planning local development. However, it does promote tourism in New Carlisle through a heritage committee which has developed a walking tour of the town and is also involved in building a bird sanctuary. As well, the heritage committee is exploring the possibility of creating a CN museum at the railway station which has been designated as a heritage station. One respondent thought that the committee should promote the presence of both René Lévesque's childhood home and the Lévesque family law office in the town.

Some respondents were aware of the existence of the CRCD (Commission régionale de consultation et développement de la Gaspésie et des Îles-de-la Madeleine). They commented that the English community had not been invited to participate formally in economic development agencies such as the CRCD. However, the former provincial Minister of Finance ensured that Anglophones were represented in various interest groups.

One respondent was aware of the provincial Department of Industry and Technology which provides advice to firms.

Some other respondents were unaware of the existence of any development agencies.

---

[25] Statistics Canada, 1991 Census.

Question 2a: Does the community have a strategic development plan in place?

There is no strategic economic development plan for New Carlisle and none is being developed, since there is no full-time economic development co-ordinator, and leadership is lacking in this field. Development in the region, if any, is done through the provincial office in Rimouski. Anglophones in New Carlisle are not aware of any development efforts, since there is no such publicity in the English media.

Question 2b: If "no", is the community working toward a plan?

One respondent said there was an infrastructure plan being developed.

Question 3a: How do you assess the leadership in the community?

Respondents generally stated that leadership was lacking in the area of economic development. They criticized the town council for being preoccupied with current problems and spending insufficient time on long-range planning. Some respondents specifically answered "no comment" to this question.

Question 3b: Whom would you consider the leaders in the community to be?

Leaders identified were primarily educators and entrepreneurs. Some persons mentioned were: Mr. Jean-Guy Dubé, manager of the Caisse populaire, Mr. Lynden Bechervaise, a retired school superintendent and President of CASA, Mr. Brian LeGresley, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, a teacher at the *polyvalente* and the chair of the arena planning committee, and Mr. Gilker, a businessperson. Also mentioned were the mayor and heads of volunteer groups.

Question 4a: What strengths do you see in the community?

The historical character of the town draws tourists to such attractions as the Hamilton Heritage Museum and, Thompson House, now a bed and breakfast. The scenery, including the marshes, is also an attraction. They cite the two linguistic cultures and its bilingual population as strengths.

New Carlisle boasts many amenities including an English school, a French radio station, an Optimists club, a senior citizens home, apartment complexes, and a tax rate lower than neighbouring communities. The town is also home to *Spec*, the English newspaper for the Gaspé region. There are structured recreational programs and many sports facilities including an arena, tennis courts, a lighted ball park, and the only 18-hole golf course on the Gaspé coast. The town is close to a

CLSC (Centre local des services communautaires[26]), a health and social services centre, and its citizens have easy access to the beach.

New Carlisle is the county seat with a court and a jail.

Question 4b: What weaknesses do you see in the community?

- The high unemployment rate and the low skill level of the labour force were cited as weaknesses.

- One respondent went so far as to say he perceived the unemployment rate to be in the range of 60 to 75%, where 90% of the social assistance recipients were Anglophones.

- The town's small and aging population were cited as a weakness. The lack of industry, long range planning, and an absence of a strategic development plan were also cited as weaknesses.

- One respondent said that the leaders in New Carlisle are not politically connected in the province.

- The lack of a French school was also considered a weakness.

Question 5a: What are the pressing needs concerning infrastructure?

There is a need for housing for seniors. As well, there is a need for a community home for Anglophones who are physically and mentally challenged.

One respondent expressed a need for more public sector presence in New Carlisle. New Carlisle presently has regional offices in Industry and Commerce. However, the regional transportation office did not go to New Carlisle. This provincial government department has the second largest budget and can hire many people part-time, especially in the summer.

Question 6a: Are there a sufficient number of entrepreneurs in the community?

The consensus was that the pool of entrepreneurs is shrinking mainly because of the aging population; the 30-50 age group is getting smaller. One person volunteered that the large number of people on social assistance is another contributing factor to the shrinking entrepreneurial pool.

---

[26] CLSCs provide health and social services to the people living in their territorial districts. CLSCs are the access point to the regional network of health and social services. Many CLSCs have medical clinics which extend the same services as most private clinics. (From the CASA publication, *Community Directory of English Services and Community Institutions on the Gaspé Coast*, undated, page 3.)

It was another person's view that the pool of Francophone entrepreneurs was increasing relative to Anglophone entrepreneurs for two reasons. One reason is that he perceives that there are a higher percentage of Anglophones within the aging population. Also, he perceives that the French youth tend to stay in the area more so than the English because the Francophone community sees more of a future for their youth and are more willing to invest in the area. Yet another respondent expressed that it is the English who are more apt to start new businesses and be self-employed because it is more difficult for Anglophones with English surnames to obtain employment, even though they might be completely bilingual. Several people independently expressed how difficult it is for bilingual people with English surnames to obtain employment. Also, there is pressure from the provincial government to hire Francophones.

In New Carlisle, many large entrepreneurs are Anglophones. One new entrepreneur is a school teacher who is also a golf course architect. He designed the course in New Carlisle, and in Matapédia. He is designing a course in Edmundston, N.B. and has agreed to design five or six courses in Cuba.

One respondent observed that new entrepreneurs prefer to start businesses in Paspébiac. That community has a small commercial centre which includes a Sobey's supermarket and Robin's store. Also, Irving is planning to open another convenience store and gas station there.

Question 6b: Are the entrepreneurs supported and encouraged by the population?

The answer was "yes".

Question 6c: Do new entrepreneurs and existing small and medium-sized businesses manage their affairs adequately?

The consensus was that entrepreneurs must manage their affairs well since they have been successful in sustaining their businesses over a long period.

Question 7a: Does being in a linguistic minority situation present additional difficulties or barriers to economic development? Explain.

Some respondents answered "no" to the question.

- One person expressed the opinion that there is discrimination based on partisan politics. The *Parti québécois* does not tend to give anything to the English minority communities because Anglophones tend to align themselves with the Liberal party.

- Another person expressed that because younger Anglophones were leaving that the entrepreneurial pool was shrinking which in turn would affect economic development.

- Still another expressed that having to conduct business in two languages and having to communicate with the provincial government in French added costs to doing business.

Question 7b: Conversely does the community benefit from being in a linguistic minority situation? How?

Only one person responded to this question and he thought the community did get some benefits because governments wanted to be seen as doing something for the Anglophone communities.

Question 8a: How would you evaluate the efforts of government agencies charged with the task of economic development?

Yes, minority communities have additional difficulties. For example the MRCs' minutes are published in French only. There is a budget for Anglophone services and the English communities should be more insistent on getting these services.

There is a deficiency in federal government training programs because it will not support French classes for English Quebecers. Clearly, it would benefit the provincial economy if more unilingual Anglophones were trained to work in French.

It is widely held that provincial government agencies have not been active in promoting economic development in the region since the last election, because the present government is preoccupied with the upcoming referendum.

Question 8b: Are these agencies sensitive to the needs of linguistic minority communities in their development efforts?

Some persons expressed that obtaining service in English at the Federal Development Bank in Rimouski is difficult, despite the fact that the person in charge there is bilingual.

One entrepreneur was concerned that the provincial registration office did not want to accept the firm's application in English. However, there was an office employee, though not fluent in English, who did attempt to serve this entrepreneur in English.

One respondent said that REXFOR, a forestry sector agency, would be sensitive to the linguistic minority because many large pulp and paper companies are English companies.

Question 8c: Do these agencies see linguistic minority communities as assets to the region?

One person replied that the agencies perceive the linguistic minority communities as liabilities.

Question 9a: Are partnerships very significant in the region?

Generally, partnerships are not significant. However, there are some co-operative ventures such as a feed co-operative in Caplan and a consumer co-operative in Bonaventure. The Legion in New Carlisle began a community-operated funeral parlour and the Anglican and United churches have come together to share common vault facilities for burial. Then there is the lobby group, called Rural Dignity, fighting to keep Via Rail in the region and keep people in the coastal communities.

Question 9b: Are partnerships very significant among neighbouring communities?

Several responded that the present mayor was not interested in co-operating with neighbouring communities. However, New Carlisle and Paspébiac West have a common filtration plant for water.

There was a partnership of four communities and some participation from the pulp and paper company in New Richmond when the private sector established the tree nursery, *Pépinière Baie des Chaleurs*, in West Paspébiac.

Question 10: Is the community an integral parts of a network?

Again, several responded that the present mayor was not in favour of networking. English communities, such as Irishtown, Mann Settlement, Shigawake, Douglastown, Barachois, and New Carlisle are linked through families.

Question 11: How do you rate the relations with other communities?

One respondent reiterated that "the mayor is not willing to encourage relations with other communities."

Question 12: What special contributions does your community, as a linguistic minority community, make to the economic well-being of the region?

The Anglophone communities have taken an overall interest in the Gaspé region. In tourism, the English make a contribution because Anglophone tourists like to stop where they can be served in English. Also, the Anglophone presence and history contribute to the diversity of the region. The more diverse a region, the more it has to offer people. "In diversity there is strength."

As for heritage and culture, the English make an economic contribution to the Gaspé. The many visitors to the Gaspesian British Heritage Centre in New Richmond is an example. The heritage of the Town of New Carlisle is also a tourist attraction, as exemplified by the Loyalist celebrations. Also, the educational system has maintained the English population. Anglophones provide many entrepreneurs, fishers, and farmers to the region.

CASA's contribution and that of *Spec* have been more significant than the efforts of the town council in New Carlisle in preserving the English community. In New Richmond, the English initiated and partly funded through CASA a $4 million senior citizens' complex.

Question 13: Do you have a special message for the Department of Canadian Heritage?

The Department of Canadian Heritage should provide funding for the English community in the Gaspé on a par with what they provide the French community in P.E.I.

Shigawake and Port Daniel

Introduction

Shigawake, with a population of 430 in 1991, and Port Daniel, with a population of 1,805, are located approximately 27 km and 41 km respectively from New Carlisle along the shore of the Baie des Chaleurs. English is the mother tongue of 55.9% of the population in Shigawake, and 21.6% in Port Daniel.[27]

Question 1a: What organizational structure for economic development is in place in the communities?

Respondents were not aware of any organizational structure for economic development locally. They were aware of the provincial Department of Industry, Commerce, and Technology, which provides grants to start businesses. They were also aware of funding of FRDC which provides agricultural grants and that the council in Port Daniel attempts to obtain grants for summer employment for students.

Question 3a: How do you assess the leadership in the communities?

The consensus was that there is a lack of leadership in terms of economic development. Some respondents felt that CASA could perform a greater role in economic development by publicizing new business developments and job opportunities in a weekly report in the newspaper, *Spec*.

Question 5a: What are the pressing needs concerning infrastructure?

There is a pressing need for an economic facilitator or marketer for the region, both in terms of tourism and other business opportunities. Another perceived need was for an upgrading of the highway to allow easier access for commercial vehicles.

Question 6a: Are there a sufficient number of entrepreneurs in the communities?

The pool of entrepreneurs is shrinking, especially in English communities. However, there are some emerging young entrepreneurs. One operates a greenhouse and a landscaping business. Another operates a riding stable. Still, another is contemplating establishing a milk plant for dairy producers in the area.

---

[27] Statistics Canada, 1991 Census.

Question 7a: Does being in a linguistic minority situation present additional difficulties or barriers to economic development? Explain.

The respondents agreed that there are barriers to economic development due to language. They cite as examples that minutes of MRCs and other agencies are in French only, and that both the federal and provincial public services lack fluently bilingual employees. Also, they perceive that positions in the public services are only advertised in the French media.

Question 8a: How would you evaluate the efforts of government agencies charged with the task of economic development?

The economic development agencies are not promoting secondary processing in the forestry sector. For example, the government subsidized the shipment of logs through its transportation policy; consequently, firms are not doing any kiln drying of wood here. If government agencies were to subsidize the kiln drying of wood instead of subsidizing the transportation of logs, there would be more secondary processing in the region. Also, the government should be encouraging commercial gardening as the soil could grow mixed crops for local sale and consumption.

One hears about development in the French papers and the French media but not in the English media.

Question 8c: Do these agencies see linguistic minority communities as assets to the region?

Respondents stated that they are very fearful of the MRCs as a form of delivering government services. A more regional approach could lead to the absorption of minority communities because the MRCs tend to view linguistic minority communities as liabilities.

Question 9b: Are partnerships very significant among neighbouring communities?

Port Daniel East, a Francophone community, and Port Daniel West, an Anglophone community, did amalgamate.

Question 9c: Are partnerships significant among firms in a particular sector?

There was a beef association formed in the area. It hired an agronomist and it also bargained for better beef prices at the New Richmond auction.

Question 12: What special contributions do your communities, as linguistic minority communities, make to the economic well-being of the region?

Historically the English have been the entrepreneurs in the region. For example Robin Jones and Whitman Ltd. is the second oldest company in Canada next to the Hudson Bay Company. The English try to preserve their community by leaving money in their wills to their churches. The English have traditionally been successful entrepreneurs, who have passed their businesses on for several generations. Anglophones continue to be entrepreneurs. For example, one farm in the community has researched and developed an organic compost made of peat moss, fish waste and farm waste. Some of this new product has been exported to Japan. The same farm sells special equipment for cattle, such as metal pens, and farm equipment in the region. Also, Anglophones have contributed as farmers, fishers, and tourist operators. Some have joined the professional ranks.

Locally, the English operate the fish plant in Shigawake. English firms own many assets in the seafood industry.

The English minority communities contribute a great deal to attract tourists to the Gaspé region.

The Town of Gaspé

Introduction

The Town of Gaspé, with a population of 16,075 in 1991, 14.9% of them who claimed English as their mother tongue is the largest municipality in the Gaspé Peninsula.[28] The town is as an important service and administrative centre for the Eastern (la "Pointe") portion of the Gaspé Peninsula and is the terminus for the rail line. Three salmon rivers empty into the town's natural harbour, and historically the economic activity of the town was centred on forestry, fishing, and whale hunting.

Question 1a: What organizational structure for economic development is in place in the community?

Respondents were not generally aware of the various government development agencies. One respondent was aware of the Chamber of Commerce because of its visibility in promoting tourist development for the Gaspé Coast. Another respondent was aware of the CRCD as an umbrella group.

Most respondents commented on the efforts of a newly-arrived United Church minister, who saw a dwindling economic base in fishing and forestry and decided to help her parishioners and townspeople find alternate employment. Where less than 10% of the land in the area was under active cultivation, and had lain fallow for decades, she saw a wonderful opportunity for the community to engage in organic farming, since the land qualified as pesticide-free for a minimum of fifteen years. She helped the people organize a non-profit company to begin what is expected to become a large-scale commercial enterprise. By organizing initially as a non-profit corporation, the group becomes eligible for funding from Human Resources Canada and private foundations. The plan is in place, the work begun, and the process is staged, so that initial successes will lead on to further successes. The voting right in the corporation is based on the co-operative movement's one-member-one-vote principle. Both Anglophones and Francophones of various religious denominations participate. There are vegetable and herb gardens both in Rosebridge and in Malbaie under cultivation.

Question 1b: Are there a sufficient number of development organizations?

In response to question 1a, people were generally unaware of the existence of development agencies. However, in answer to the question about whether there were a sufficient number of development organizations, one respondent said there were not a sufficient number.

---

[28] Statistics Canada, 1991 Census.

Question 2a: Does the community have a strategic development plan in place?

The answer was "no".

Question 3a: How do you assess the leadership in the community?

Respondents agreed that the town council was not interested in planning economic development. The council tends to look for outside funding for development purposes. However, the town council has entertained delegates from Japan who were in the region to examine the fisheries.

Question 3b: Whom would you consider the leaders in the community to be?

Mentioned were organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Knights of Columbus, the Lions, and the organizers of the summer festival and the winter carnival.

Some respondents specifically mentioned Cynthia and Eric Patterson. Many mentioned the Rev. Lorraine Lambert, the United Church minister, who has organized the organic gardening venture.

Question 4a: What strengths do you see in the community?

- The service centre nature of the town is a big asset. In the public sector, there are several schools: Gaspé Elementary, which is English Protestant, Sacred Heart School, which is English Catholic, Saint-Rosaire, which is French Catholic, a CEGEP with approximately 2,000 students and with some English courses, and a *polyvalente*. The CEGEP has forestry courses and attracts students from New Brunswick. There are also a hospital, a CLSC,and the presence of provincial government departments such as the Ministry of Fisheries and Quebec Communications. There is also Foyer Notre-Dame, a senior citizens' home for Francophones. In the private sector, there are two shopping centres, two drugstores, and several restaurants.

- Strengths include the wharf, the marina, and the lobster fishery. There are amenities such as a courthouse, two day-care centres, a rink, and a pool.

- Close to the Town of Gaspé there are many tourist attractions such as the famous Percé Rock, a nearby beach, Forillon National Park with its cabins, slides, camping areas, and historic buildings including Maison Blanchette. As well, there is a homecoming festival in the summer, three salmon rivers for sport fishing, and a nearby ski-hill, Mont Béchervaise.

- The town is also known to have many volunteers.

Question 4b: What weaknesses do you see in the community?

One major weakness is the lack of employment. The economy is not well diversified and there is too much dependency on declining industries such as fishing and forestry. The Town of Gaspé is a long distance from major centres and the townspeople have a strong feeling of isolation. The high long distance rates of the local telephone company contribute to the feeling of isolation. Many respondents commented that it costs twice as much to call from Gaspé to Montreal as it does to call from Montreal to Gaspé.

Although they cited the volunteers in the area as a strength, the same people do volunteer work. Many stated that there were too few opportunities for young Anglophones.

One respondent summarized by stating that "there is the feeling of being defeated."

Question 5a: What are the pressing needs concerning infrastructure?

- The roads are in need of repair. There is need in the community for a public library, and recreational programs, especially one for the 7-11 age group.

- There is need of competition in the long distance market.

Question 6a: Are there a sufficient number of entrepreneurs in the community?

- The pool, especially the pool of English entrepreneurs, is shrinking because the young are leaving. The entrepreneurship program at the CEGEP does not seem to be contributing any increase in the number of local entrepreneurs.

- Tim Horton's and MacDonald's are expected to locate in the town.

Question 7a: Does being in a linguistic minority situation present additional difficulties or barriers to economic development? Explain.

Several people claimed that bilingual Francophones receive preference to bilingual Anglophones for employment. Only one respondent disagreed.

Question 8b: Are these [government economic development] agencies sensitive to the needs of linguistic minority communities in their development efforts?

There was only one response: "They do not cater to the English."

Question 9a: Are partnerships very significant in the region?

One person said that partnerships were discouraged.

Question 10: Is the community an integral part of a network?

- Through the fishery sector, there are links among communities.

- Anglophones who belong to such service clubs as the Legion and the Lions form a network with other Anglophone communities.

Question 12: What special contributions does your community, as a linguistic minority community, make to the economic well-being of the region?

A fishers' union official told us that it is the English-speaking fishermen who are more likely to adopt new technology. They travel long distances to catch fish, and because English-speaking fishermen can communicate more easily while they are in ports outside the Gaspé, they become acquainted with new ways and new technology. And because many of them are also bilingual, they are able to pass their new knowledge on to unilingual French-speaking fishermen in the Gaspé. This reinforces the commonly held view that traditionally Anglophones have been the innovators in many sectors.

Anglophones contribute to the tourist trade in the area through heritage institutions and their traditional role in the salmon sport-fishery.

Question 13: Do you have a special message for the Department of Canadian Heritage?

Some responses were:

- Provide more funding for the linguistic minority.

- Commemorating the battle of the St. Lawrence from the Second World War would attract many tourists to the area.

- In the Gaspé, the Anglophone communities, as linguistic minority communities, suffer a deterioration in their infrastructure due to insufficient regional development efforts by various levels of government. Conversely, in New Brunswick, Francophone communities, as linguistic minority communities, are experiencing an improvement to their infrastructure in part due to regional development efforts.

- More local CBC current affairs' programs are required in the Gaspé region. Currently, all English Quebec service of the CBC outside Montreal originates in Quebec City.

The Magdalen Islands

Introduction

Grosse-Île, with a population of 569 in 1991, 500 (87.9%) of whom claimed English as their mother tongue, is an Anglophone enclave on the Islands. Like the rest of the Magdalen Islands, (population 13,991, with 790 claiming English as their mother tongue)[29] the community on the northeastern part of the Islands, is reliant mainly on fishing and tourism.

Question 1a: What organizational structure for economic development is in place in the community?

On the Islands, the provincial Secretariat of Regional Affairs is involved in economic development. As well, ADELIM provides assistance to new businesses. The respondents were unaware of other agencies.

Question 3b: Whom would you consider the leaders in the community to be?

Business people were considered the leaders in the community.

Question 4a: What strengths do you see in the community?

The lobster fishery and tourism are the main strengths. The Islands are a delight for ornithologists. For example, there is the ecological reserve on Île-Brion which has conserved a large variety of bird species and represents the Islands as they used to be; there is the bird sanctuary on Rocher-aux-Oiseaux which serves as a refuge for colonies of aquatic birds. The salt mine at Mines Seleine, which exports salt throughout the mainland, could be exploited as a tourist attraction.

Question 4b: What weaknesses do you see in the community?

They expect that the fishing harbour in Grosse-Île will be closed. Tourists travel to Île-Brion and Rocher-aux-Oiseaux from the harbour. There is a lack of overnight accommodation in the tourist sector. Other weakness cited were some health and safety hazards at the school.

Question 5a: What are the pressing needs concerning infrastructure?

The pressing needs are in transportation: the roads need improving, freight service is uncertain, and the port has been allowed to languish, as well as the wharf on Sandy Beach.

---

[29] Statistics Canada, 1991 Census.

Question 6a: Are there a sufficient number of entrepreneurs in the community?

There could be opportunities for entrepreneurs in Grosse-Île to give boat tours that are currently conducted by guides at Cap-aux-Meules.

Question 7a: Does being in a linguistic minority situation present additional difficulties or barriers to economic development? Explain.

It is more difficult for Anglophones, even if they are bilingual, to find work than Francophones who are bilingual, or even in some instances, than unilingual Francophones. Therefore, it was suggested that more Anglophones would have to become self-employed.

Question 7b: Conversely does the community benefit from being in a linguistic minority situation? How?

The community does not benefit from being in a minority situation.

Question 8b: Are these agencies sensitive to the needs of linguistic minority communities in their development efforts?

There is the perception that provincial agencies are not sensitive to the needs of the English. One example cited was that the agencies favoured nearby Graade-Entrée, which is a French community, over Grosse-Île, which is an English community, for tourist development. Another example was that the province does not advertise employment opportunities in English.

Question 8c: Do these agencies see linguistic minority communities as assets to the region?

The public servants are not aware of the assets that exist in English communities.

Question 9b: Are partnerships very significant among neighbouring communities?

The municipalities of Grosse-Île and Grande-Entrée are discussing plans for joint tourist development.

Question 10: Is the community an integral part of a network?

Magdalen Islanders feel part of the Maritimes because of the ferry link to P.E.I..

Question 12: What special contributions does your community, as a linguistic minority community, make to the economic well-being of the region?

Anglophone enclaves on the Islands attract additional tourists. More generally, the English in Quebec act as a bridge to the rest of North America, thus increasing the province's potential for international business.

Question 13: Do you have a special message for the Department of Canadian Heritage?

The Department of Canadian Heritage should directly support the various English newspapers in the province, such as *Spec* in the Gaspé and the *First Informer* in the Magdalen Islands, instead of funding them through umbrella groups.

Appendix

Persons interviewed

Prince County, Prince Edward Island

1. Focus Group in the *Centre d'affaires communautaires*, Wellington, P.E.I. Some persons present were: Monsieur Armand Arsenault, *directeur du centre régional de services*, Monsieur Edgar Arsenault, *agent de développement économique régional*, Monsieur Gabriel Arsenault, *directeur de l'école d'Evangéline*, Monsieur Wilfred Arsenault, *commission industrielle*, Monsieur Léonce Bernard, *Gérant de la Caisse Populaire d'Évangéline*, Madame Lisa Gallant, *entrepreneur: Le Village (hôtel touristique)*, Monsieur Théo Thériault, *entrepreneur: Céramique et représentant du village*, and Madame Claudette McNeill, Conseil de la Coopérative de l'Î-P.-É.

2. Monsieur Edgar Arsenault, *agent de développement économique régional*, Wellington, P.E.I..

3. Monsieur Wilfred Arsenault, *directeur, Commission industrielle de la Baie Acadienne*, Wellington, P.E.I.

4. Monsieur Armand Arsenault, *directeur, Centre de service régional Évangéline*, Wellington, P.E.I.

5. Monsieur René Maddix, President, Maddix Construction Limited, Wellington, P.E.I.

6. Madame Claudette Arseneault-Thériault, *directrice, Secrétariat des affaires francophones*, Wellington, P.E.I..

7. Monsieur Aubry Cormier, *directeur général de la Société d'Éducation*, Wellington, P.E.I.

8. Monsieur Alcide Bernard, Manager, Small Fry, Wellington, P.E.I.

9. Madame Élise Arseneau, *directrice de la Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin*, Summerside, P.E.I.

10. Monsieur Victor Doucet, Assistant Manager, Tignish Credit Union.

11. Monsieur Larry Drouin, One-Stop Auto Salvage, St-Louis.

12. Monsieur Don Thériault, proprietor, the Gaudet Tourist Home, Tignish.

13. Madame Imelda Thibodeau, *directrice de la Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin*, Palmer Road.

14. Mrs. Shirley Martin-Harper, entrepreneur and owner of Shirley's Cafe, Tignish

15. Mr. Tom Perry, proprietor, Eugene's General Store and Mayor of Tignish

16. Ms. Karen Buote, Town Clerk, Community of Tignish.

17. Mr. Scott Harper, Tignish Initiatives.

18. Père Albin Arsenault, Roman Catholic parish priest, Tignish.

19. Madame Claudette Leclere, agent for the provincial agency, *Secrétariat des affaires francophones*, in Tignish.

20. Monsieur Robert Thibodeau, Manager, Co-op Store, Tignish.

Gaspé and Îles-de-la-Madeleine

1. Mr. John-Bud-Campbell, proprietor of the former General store, Grande Cascapédia.

2. Mrs. Mary Campbell, Grande Cascapédia.

3. Mr. Art Campbell, retired high school teacher from the Eastern Townships, Grande Cascapédia.

4. Mr. Reginald Sexton, proprietor of the convenience store and partner in Sexton and Sexton, sports fishing supplies, St. Jules.

5. Mr. Todd Cochrane, employee at Sexton and Sexton, St. Jules.

6. Mr. Albert Burton, rancher, New Richmond.

7. Mrs. Gladys Cochrane, homemaker, New Richmond.

8. Mr. Jean-Marie Jobin, Mayor of New Richmond

9. Mr. Bill Dow, Mayor *pro-tem* of Cascapédia

10. Mr. Louis Sexton, Mayor of St. Jules and Director General and Band Administrator for the Gesgapegiag Reserve, St. Jules.

11. Ms. Cynthia Dow, News Editor of *Spec* (the English-language newspaper in the Gaspé), a director of CASA, and formerly with the Townships Association

12. Mrs. Joan Richards, Program Director of CASA, New Carlisle.

13. Mr. Lynden Bechervaise, President of CASA, New Carlisle.

14. Mr. Robert Smith, a graduate in marketing from the University of Ottawa, who returned to the Gaspé region, and worked on a youth project for CASA in summer 1994, New Carlisle.

15. Mr. Jean-Guy Dubé, Manager of the *Caisse populaire* and is a board member of the *Comité de développement de New Carlisle*.

16. Mr. Garry Hayes, proprietor of Pine Crest Farms in Shigawake, president of the Port Daniel Harbour Commission, and former mayor of Shigawake from 1983-1987.

17. Mr. Elton Hayes, farmer and Secretary of the Municipal Council of Shigawake.

18. Mr. Glen Hayes, farmer, Shigawake.

19. Mr. Robert Munro, an employee of the Stone pulp and paper company in New Richmond, a principal in *Pépinière Baie des Chaleurs* in West Paspébiac, and a prospective buyer of the Ford dealership in New Richmond.

20. Mrs. Lois Williams, senior citizen, Port Daniel West.

21. Mr. Cyrus Juneau, proprietor of the Heritage Restaurant, member of the town council in New Carlisle, and principal of the pre-K-8 School, New Carlisle.

22. Mr.Wade Gifford, Principal of the English school in New Richmond, and Assistant Director General of the School Board in New Carlisle, and golf-course architect.

23. Mrs. Brenda Starnes, homemaker and entrepreneur, (proprietor of *The Cozy Corner*, an English second-hand bookstore and gift shop planned for New Carlisle).

24. Mrs. Joan Dow, President of the Gaspesian British Heritage Centre, New Richmond.

25. Mr. Patrick Gagnon, MP for Gaspé and the Magdalen Islands, Ottawa.

26. Mr. Gilbert Desrosiers, Bureau fédéral de développement régional, Rimouski.

27. Mr. Albert Patterson, Program Co-ordinator, CASA, Town of Gaspé.

28. Mrs. Shirley Sinnett-Morais, homemaker and a volunteer with the handicapped, Town of Gaspé.

29. Mr. Alfred Cassidy, Vice-President of CASA and proprietor of Photo Cassidy, Town of Gaspé.

30. Mr. Leroy Leggo, executive member of the Eastern Fishermen's Federation, Douglastown.

31. Rev. Lorraine Lambert, United Church minister, Town of Gaspé.

32. Mr. John Dewie, Secretary Treasurer of Grosse Île, Îles de la Madeleine.

33 Mr. Jim Routh, Gaspesia-the Islands School Board, and President of SPEC, Magdalen Islands.

34. Monsieur Eric Robichaud, *Bureau fédéral de développement régional*, Quebec City.

35. Monsieur Patrice Ouellet, *Bureau fédéral de développement régional*, Montreal.

Phase III: Summary and Conclusion

Part I—Prince Edward Island: The economic vitality of the francophone minority in Prince County

We set out in this study to examine the economic vitality of linguistic minority communities in Prince County, Prince Edward Island, and how these communities contribute to the economic well-being of their regions. We prepared statistical profiles to show how some communities in the Évangéline and the Tignish-Palmer Road-St. Louis areas fared economically compared with the surrounding region, the province, and Canada. As well, we conducted on-site interviews to discover the cohesive spirit in the communities, what organizations for economic development existed in each area and how respondents perceived the efforts of the various development agencies, whether a strategic development plan existed for each area, the effectiveness of the leadership, the infrastructure needs, the state of entrepreneurship, the strengths and weaknesses of the areas, whether being in a linguistic minority situation presented difficulties for economic development, and finally, how the people perceived their communities contributing to the economy of the region, Prince Edward Island, and Canada.

What do our statistical profiles show? There are 6,300 persons of the Island population whose mother tongue is French.[30] Approximately three out of four Island Francophones live in Prince County and they are approximately 10% of the county population. The proportion of the Francophone population under 25 of age is much lower than the proportion for Anglophones in Prince County. The overall Francophone population of Prince County declined in the 1980s, except in the Wellington area. We partially explained this by the national trend of workers migrating from rural to urban areas, the out-migration of workers from Atlantic to Central Canada, where employment opportunities were more promising, and the increasing assimilation of the linguistic minority.

The Francophones of Prince County, largely of Acadian origin, are twice disadvantaged; the region is an economically depressed one by national standards, and by certain socio-economic indicators, the Francophone minority is disadvantaged compared with the linguistic Anglophone majority. Francophones have a lower participation rate in the labour force, lower educational levels, and are further disadvantaged by the occupational mix of a linguistic minority in a rural setting and the dependency of the population on government transfers, especially unemployment insurance. The dependency ratio of unemployment insurance benefits to earned income is already high for Prince Edward Island, three to four times the ratio for Canada. However, the ratio is five times higher for Prince County, and more than sixteen times higher for the St. Louis area, where unemployment insurance benefits are 82% of earned income. The many seasonal

[30] Refer to Table A1 on page 51.

workers in Prince County partially account for this phenomenon, but the proportion of Francophone seasonal workers are higher than their Anglophone counterparts.

When we examined the distribution of employment by various sectors, we found a higher proportion of Francophones in the primary and manufacturing sectors than Anglophones in Prince County. Both linguistic groups were almost equally represented in the traditional service industries (wholesale and retail trade, accommodation, restaurants, and personal services) and in the public sector. However, Francophones were under-represented in the financial services sector. Except in education, Francophones employed in the high paying sectors - those sectors with above-average income - (management, education, health, technical professions, transport, manufacturing), were under-represented in relation to their Anglophone counterparts. The average salaries in these sectors were much higher for Anglophones, except in the transportation sector where the average salaries for Francophones actually exceeded those of Anglophones.

The education level of Francophones in the labour force was lower than their Anglophone counterparts in Prince County. Approximately half the Francophone labour force in the county did not complete secondary school compared with 41.4% for the Anglophone labour force. At the post secondary level, there are a higher percentage of Anglophones (17.9%) than Francophones (10.7%) in the labour forces who are university graduates.

Francophone women were better educated than Francophone men. However, women were under-represented overall in the sectors (management, education, health, technical professionals, transportation, and manufacturing) which had above-average income.

How do we explain the various disparities in the labour force and in the income levels? The Francophone population in Prince County is concentrated in rural areas, where the industrial mix and occupations are skewed toward lower earnings. Anglophones live and work closer to Summerside, which is more urban than the rest of the county. A second factor is the lower level of education among the Francophone population, especially the men who tend to work in the goods producing sectors. Because of the decline in employment in the fishery and farming sectors, there is an above-average dependency ratio of unemployment insurance to earned income, especially in the Tignish-Palmer Road areas. The partial assimilation of the population, especially in the Tignish area, also contributes to the disparities. So do the lower participation rates among Francophones in the labour force contribute to the disparities between the two linguistic groups. Then there is the out-migration of the youth between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four, and that poses a problem for the future, where the remaining Francophone population, the very young and the old, will be more dependent on the remaining workers.

Finally, our profiles show that disparities also exist *within* the linguistic minority community in Prince County. Levels of education, participation rates, the

occupational mix, and earnings are much more favourable in the Evangeline area than the Tignish-Palmer Road-St. Louis area. It is, as if, we had a dual economy within the Francophone community in Prince County; in Évangéline the proportion of the labour force employed in services - traditional, professional, and dynamic - is higher, but in North Prince, the opposite is true: the proportions of the labour force employed in primary and secondary activities are higher and the population is much more dependent on transfer payments.

What did we learn from our on-site interviews in Prince County? The fourteen communities in the Evangeline region effectively function as one community to promote economic development. This unity derives in part from the concentration of Acadians in the region and the homogeneous nature of the society through the French language and the Roman Catholic religion. The cohesive force in language, culture, religion, and pride in community carries over to development initiatives.

Community leaders fostered this unity by promoting existing businesses and fostering new entrepreneurs through *La Commission industrielle de la Baie Acadienne*. The commission created infrastructure in support of the private sector, such as the small shopping centre - *Le Centre Commercial* - in Wellington. As well, the commission invested in infrastructure to support public sector and volunteer activities that would ultimately contribute to the economic well-being of the region and reinforce the unity and dynamism of the Evangeline region. This they achieved by buying the building that had housed the consumers' cooperative in Wellington and turning it into a *Centre d'affaires communautaires*, which acts as a centre for several agencies. Among them are the *Centre de services régional*, a government office created to provide all provincial services in both official languages and services to volunteer groups; the *Secrétariat des affaires francophones*, which is funded through a federal-provincial co-operation agreement to promote the French language and the economic development for the Francophone community in P.E.I.; *la Société Éducative, Î.-P.-É.*, which specializes in distance education and is the first postsecondary institution for Francophones on the Island; the industrial commission; the regional committee of the *Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin*; an accounting firm from Summerside which provides services in the French language; *l'Office des catéchèses des Maritimes*; the co-ordinator of *Les Jeux de l'Acadie*; and several representatives of provincial government departments. Representatives from federal agencies such as Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), Federal Business Development Bank[31] (FBDB), and Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) use the facilities on their visits to clients in the region. Such a "one-stop-shopping" centre for services can act as a model for linguistic minority groups elsewhere.

Other development institutions in the region are the *Société touristique, Conseil de Coopération*, the risk capital arm of the *Caisse populaire*, and the West Prince Community Futures with its lending arm, West Prince Ventures. Although the SDE

---

[31] The FBDB was renamed the Business Development Bank of Canada on July 1, 1995.

(*Société de développement de la région Évangéline*) developed a strategic plan for the area, there has been no implementation of any development plan for the region.

One major strength of the Évangéline region is the co-operative movement. The Évangéline region with approximately 19 cooperatives has the highest coop density in Canada. There is also a sizeable pool of educated volunteers in the area. This spirit of co-operation, whether through commercial ventures or voluntarism, can be a powerful tool in carrying forth economic development initiatives in Évangéline. That having been said, there is little local economic planning - outside tourism - in the region, because of the lack of present economic opportunity. There is, however, a strong commitment by the Acadian community to develop the area, and its desire to have a Regional (Economic) Development Area designated for Évangéline.

We cannot underestimate the contribution of the *Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin* to the vitality of the Évangéline region and the Francophone community on the Island. It is an unspoken strength! The *Société* based in Summerside promotes the cultural and educational interests of Francophones and the economic welfare of the linguistic minority by forming partnerships within *La Francophonie* and elsewhere, by promoting the region nationally and internationally, and by encouraging entrepreneurship and economic development. One of the Society's initiatives was the establishment of *La Société Éducative Î.-P.-É.* Until its establishment, there was no postsecondary institution for Francophones on the Island. The education centre provides access to the curriculum of *Collège l'Acadie* in Nova Scotia for distance adult education via the Internet. Also, the *Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin* supports the French language newspaper, *La Voix Acadienne*, which is an important cohesive force in the region.

We have mentioned some strengths of the Évangéline region, but what of any weaknesses? Many respondents told us that there is a lack of marketing skills among Francophones in the region. The people are able to produce quality goods and services but they do not possess the necessary knowledge of markets or skills to sell their products effectively. Any steps taken to rectify this deficiency would greatly enhance the potential for additional economic activity in Évangéline.

When we asked those interviewed as to whether they felt disadvantaged as a linguistic minority in terms of economic development, they responded that some federal agencies like ACOA were sensitive to the needs of the Francophones. However, other federal departments and agencies were not as sensitive to the needs of the linguistic minority, as were their counterparts in provincial departments and agencies. Some respondents thought that a parallel institution to the *Secrétariat des affaires francophones* at the federal level would be a good idea to more effectively deliver services in the French language. Insensitivity to the needs of the linguistic minority can impede economic development, if for example, Francophones can only be served in English by development agencies or if entrepreneurs have to wait longer for their applications to be processed in French.

What of the state of entrepreneurship in Évangéline? Many Francophone entrepreneurs are more than 40 years of age. The younger ones are gravitating around Summerside area, where opportunities and local incentives are better. The Francophone population under 25 years of age is small and this reduces the pool of potential entrepreneurs. Earlier we spoke of the strong co-operative movement in Évangéline but some respondents thought that this was inhibiting individual initiative in starting businesses.

What did we learn about the leadership in Évangéline? The leaders are well educated and come mainly from the public sector, especially among educators. Entrepreneurs are also recognized as leaders in the community. As long as the region can maintain a strong public sector in its economic base, there are many people in Évangéline who are willing and able to act as leaders. Many spoke highly of the leadership in the *Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin*.

What special message, if any, did the people of Évangéline have for the Department of Canadian Heritage? Some of the leaders are concerned that the federal-provincial agreement which designates funds for the vitality of Francophone communities, especially for purposes of economic development, could become jeopardized with the introduction of the Canada Social Transfers. Some of the respondents urged the continuation of federal-provincial cooperation agreements that would guarantee funding for linguistic minorities. Some urged the Department of Canadian Heritage to actually invest in an economic plan for the Évangéline region. They argued that by strengthening the economy and by making the area less dependent on transfer payments, the more likely would people stay and the more likely would the culture be preserved.

How then does the Francophone community in Évangéline contribute to the Island's economy and to the Canadian economy? In 1995, approximately 102,448 visitors came to the Évangéline region, most of them from New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec and the U.S.A. French-speaking tourists, or Acadians from away seeking their roots, are glad to visit where they will be welcomed in their native language. Also, many Anglophones whose children are enrolled in French immersion courses journey to the region for the cultural experience and exposure. The estimated $2.9 million spent by these tourists is a substantial contribution to the Island economy, relative to the small proportion of the Francophone population.[12]

Many Francophone youth from the area have gone to university elsewhere in Canada. Some graduates return to Prince Edward Island, but wherever they settle in Canada, they make a contribution by being able to participate as bilingually trained persons: some of them as entrepreneurs filling special niches related to providing Francophone services.

---

[12] From Enterprise Prince Edward Island, Research Division, *The Economic Impact of Tourism - 1995*, Charlottetown, undated, pages 44-48.

The education centre in Wellington with its multimedia capabilities can serve as a model for other communities to adopt. Already, their expertise in providing distance education, especially in the French language, is being exported to the rest of the Island and elsewhere in Canada. With this goes the transfer of new technology. Also, the significant use being made of distance learning access to the *Collège l'Acadie* by the people of the Évangéline region not only enhances the community's education in its own language, but it also serves the not-so-subtle function of teaching computer mastery and making many of its members early adopters of the new tools of the age.

As well, it is often too easy to underestimate the value of the export of cultural services of writers, artists, actors, musicians, etc. With the increasing importance of leisure industries in Canada, such supply of cultural services, estimated at $16 billion in 1993 for Canada,[33] will make a growing contribution to the Gross Domestic Product.

We were told that Acadians, as a minority, have always had to innovate to be able to do more with fewer resources. They have strived to form partnerships with other Francophone nations, and have contributed to Canada's international relations. The drive to survive and succeed manifests itself in the increasing ability of young Acadians to compete locally, regionally, nationally and internationally. Witness the resurgence of entrepreneurship in the Moncton area by the Acadians. On a smaller scale, the same is true in Évangéline. But what have we learned about the other Francophone communities in Prince?

In North Prince, approximately 60 kilometres to the northwest of Wellington, the heart of Évangéline country, is the municipality of Tignish, and within 15 kilometres of Tignish are the communities of Palmer Road and St. Louis. This, too, is Acadian country. Unlike Évangéline, the Francophones in North Prince do not have their own schools. Although there are support organizations, the Acadians in this region are much more assimilated, and many no longer speak French.

The economy of the community is based on farming and fishing. The main species caught are lobster, crab, mackerel, and herring. There is a high dependency on earnings from the fishery and from transfer payments. Employment opportunities associated with potato growing have been reduced since McCain Foods and Cavendish Farms now do their own grading of potatoes.

The agencies responsible for economic development in this area are the West Prince Community Futures, West Prince Ventures, West Prince Industrial Commission, and West Prince Inter-Agency. Federal agencies like ACOA and FBDB also serve the area. The Industrial Commission is developing a West Prince tourist guide

---

[33] From *Les Affaires*, Sept. 16-22, 1995 issue, page 8. The source quoted in the article is Statistics Canada. Based on the relative population of P.E.I. to Canada, the share for P.E.I. can be estimated at approximately $73 million. The share for the Francophone population of P.E.I. can therefore be estimated as approximately $3.1 million.

publication. The Commission also established a program called Tignish Initiatives to attempt to create additional economic activities in the municipality. One of its projects is to convert an old convent into a bed-and-breakfast, which will be known as the Tignish Heritage Inn. The building is near the old railway lines, which have been converted to recreational trails, and so will attract tourists who use the trails both in winter and summer. As well, Tignish Initiatives, in partnership with Holland College, provides training programs under the TAGS (fishery adjustment) program. The West Prince Industrial Commission started a fun park in the Mill River Resort, and it has established an incubator mall in the area. There is also the *Comité touristique acadien de Tignish*, which was established in 1995, which promotes the area, as does the Co-op Council. Although each is active in its own way, none of these agencies has a strategic or comprehensive development plan for the area.

There are many co-operatives in the area, including a blueberry producers' co-operative, a health centre, a fishers' producer co-operative, a resident home co-operative for the disadvantaged, a social club co-operative called Ti-PA (Tignish-Palmer Road Social Club), a consumer co-operative, feed mill, saw mill, and a credit union. The Tignish Credit Union has 9,000 members with assets of $29 million.[34] Like Évangéline, one strength in North Prince is the strong co-operative movement.

There are many volunteers in the Tignish-Palmer Road area. However, like the elected officials in Tignish, volunteers work for the welfare of the whole community and do not distinguish between the French and English sub-communities. The Francophone sub-community is seldom promoted. Sometimes, under the guise of special events, the Acadian culture becomes part of the celebrations. Otherwise, volunteer groups for the Tignish community are English-orientated. The municipal leaders in Tignish are planning the bicentennial celebrations for 1997, and although there will be some Acadian cultural events, it is not expected that the 1997 celebrations will have an Acadian focus, despite the fact that the community was settled originally by eight Acadian families.

Another strength is the Community Service Centre in Tignish. This building was built with funding from ACOA, the province, and the Town of Tignish. It houses several agencies which provide services to Tignish and surrounding areas, such as the offices of the municipality of Tignish, the RCMP, and the offices of the representative for provincial government services. Not only does this building provide one-stop shopping for many services, the *Secrétariat des affaires francophones* also ensures that people can obtain provincial government services in French and in English.

---

[34] Based on an interview with Mr. Victor Doucet, Assistant Manager at the Tignish Credit Union, Tignish, March 1995.

In the nearby Parish of Palmer Road, there is a regional office of the *Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin*. Among its activities, the Society publishes a bilingual newsletter for the Tignish region. Because the Francophones are more assimilated here, the Society strives for bilingual institutions, such as the newsletter, the kindergarten, and the senior citizens' club, which exist in Tignish. As well, many parents are encouraged to register their children in the French immersion programs in the Tignish and area schools.

There are also strengths in the tourist sector. Tignish has the largest small craft harbour in the Maritimes. As well, the Wind Reef Restaurant on the North Cape and the nearby Mill River Resort attract tourists.

What weaknesses were perceived by the persons interviewed in North Prince? Respondents saw the high concentration of the labour force in fishing and farming as a weakness. So was the accompanying dependence on unemployment insurance earnings. Respondents were lukewarm toward the leaders in the area. The strong leadership capabilities in Évangéline were not as evident here from the responses of those interviewed. Neither was there evidence of strong entrepreneurship from the responses. Risk-taking was averted through the formation of co-operatives.

What special message, if any, did the people of North Prince have for the Department of Canadian Heritage? They urged that funding for cultural purposes not be reduced. Some urged an increase in funding for this area because of the high rate of assimilation due to the absence of French schools.

How then does the Francophone community in the Tignish-Palmer Road-St. Louis area participate in local development initiatives? Like Évangéline, the Tignish-Palmer Road-St. Louis area is part of Prince County, an economically depressed region by national standards. There are few opportunities for economic development, and employment in the traditional sectors of fishing and farming is on the decline. Although we have mentioned several agencies which promote the area, none of them is implementing a comprehensive development plan, either at the municipal or regional levels. Unlike the people of the many communities surrounding Wellington who identify more with Évangéline as a single region to develop for the benefit of Acadians, the Francophones in the Tignish-Palmer Road-St. Louis area do not consider their area as a single region to develop. The Acadian population is much more dispersed here. Francophones will participate with the English in each of the municipalities to effect whatever development efforts there are for the local community as a whole. Business people have observed that linguistic minority communities are very supportive of local businesses.

How then does the Francophone community in the Tignish-Palmer Road area contribute to the Island's economy and to the Canadian economy? Like the Évangéline area, it draws many tourists from Quebec, New Brunswick, and Louisiana because of the region's Acadian heritage. Some of them, especially those from Massachusetts, are seeking their roots. *Tours Acadie* arranges for many of them to come to this area. *Tours Acadie* is in the process of trying to attract winter

tourism from Europe, especially from Belgium, on the *Passeport Blanc* plan. Special events such as *Étoile de Marie*, the Acadian week of April 1 (*Semaine de la Francophonie*), French theatre in July and August, and the Palmer Road picnic in August draw many visitors to the area. Then there are special institutions that draw tourists to this area, such as Henri Gaudet's Museum, where many wish to trace their genealogy, and the French Dinner Theatre. As well, there are many musicians, artists, and performers who contribute to the regional, provincial, and national economies. The many students going through French immersion programs in the schools will also contribute to the pool of bilingual workers in Canada.

What have we learned from the comparative experiences of the French minority in Prince County of Prince Edward Island? First, we quickly discovered that the Évangéline region is very different from that of North Prince. As we have mentioned, Évangéline is a French enclave, and in that region Francophones are in the majority. They have their own schools, and the working language in the communities is French. In the Tignish-Palmer road area, the Acadians do not have a French school their children can attend. The working language is English, and many people of Acadian or French heritage are no longer able to speak French, or can do so only minimally.

The concentration of Francophones in the Évangéline region and the support various levels of government provide[35] produce a greater commonality of interest for development purposes. People see the advancement of their economy as a way of ensuring the preservation and advancement of their culture. Thus, they actively promote the area and lobby for structures for economic development that will support the needs of their region. They are used to collaborating through the co-operative movement and form quite a force for potentially developing the region. We mentioned there was no comprehensive plan in place for Évangéline, but this may change as new structures come into play because of federal and provincial reforms in regional development. Ultimately, the chances of large-scale development will be limited by the nature of the P.E.I. economy, the performance of the Canadian economy, and the monies available from the public purse for both heritage spending and development.

Just as Évangéline is more fortunate relative to the communities in North Prince, it is also subject to the potential shock of reduction in public spending. There is a concentration of public servants or quasi-public servants in the Évangéline region, and this presence partially explains the fact the average income for this region is above that of Prince County as a whole. Also, there are many educated people who could provide the necessary leadership to formulate and implement development plans. But this strength can become a weakness: if there is a drastic cut in funding, there will be an exodus of well-educated bilingual people, and the economic base of the region will be badly eroded. With a loss of population, funding for French

---

[35] The Francophone community in Prince Edward Island receives support not only from the Department of Canadian Heritage, but also from the Provincial government through a federal-provincial co-operation agreement to promote the French language in P.E.I.

schools could become problematic, and that would be the beginning of the loss of the minority language and culture. Consequently, there would be a loss of communal interest in developing the Évangéline region.

In the Tignish-Palmer Road-St. Louis area the linguistic minority is more dispersed geographically, and Francophones do not operate on a unified front for development purposes. Community economic development - such as it is - is associated with the local place, and is not tied to language. If this region were to receive funding at a level similar to what is received in Évangéline, there might be greater opportunities for the promotion of local development, including the expansion of infrastructure, such as schools for the minority groups. Minority-schools would do much to preserve the language and heritage of the minorities in these regions. As well, the additional presence of minority-language educators, public servants, and public service agencies, would add to the pool of educated and well-trained people among the minorities. Any strengthening of the economic base, such as through the additional presence of public servants, or through the diversification of local exports, creates a *raison d'être* for people of the linguistic minority group to remain, and that greatly increases the chances of preserving the language and culture.

We have seen how linguistic minority communities can make a contribution to the economy and to economic development. Economic development in turn is an important ingredient in preserving the population, the language, and the heritage of such communities. There is a symbiotic relationship here. All levels of government should make greater efforts not only to support activities which tend to preserve the culture in linguistic minority communities, but also to support the economic development of the regions. Without an economic basis for a linguistic minority community to survive, the people within the minority group will eventually move. The dispersion will likely lead to assimilation of the minority people and the loss of heritage and culture. Conversely, by developing linguistic minority communities economically, the heritage and culture of the linguistic minorities will be strengthened.

Part 2—Quebec: The economic vitality of the anglophone minority in the Gaspé (and the Magdalen Islands)

We set out in this study to examine the economic vitality of linguistic minority communities in the Gaspé and how these communities contribute to the economic well-being of their regions. We prepared statistical profiles to show how some communities in the counties of Bonaventure, Pabok, and la Côte-de-Gaspé (Co.) fared economically compared with the surrounding region, the province, and Canada. As well, we conducted on-site interviews in Bonaventure and Pabok counties and conducted telephone interviews in la Côte-de-Gaspé (Co.) and the Magdalen Islands to discover: the cohesive spirit in the communities, what organizations for economic development existed in each area and how respondents perceived the efforts of the various development agencies, whether a strategic development plan existed for each area, the effectiveness of the leadership, the infrastructure needs, the state of entrepreneurship, the strengths and weaknesses of the areas, whether being in a linguistic minority situation presented difficulties for economic development, and finally, how the people perceived their communities contributing to the economy of the region, Quebec, and Canada.

What do our statistical profiles show? There are approximately 11,000 Anglophones in the Gaspé Peninsula, 7,300 of whom live in the counties of Bonaventure, Pabok, and la Côte-de-Gaspé. Anglophones are dispersed over a large geographic area. The proportion of Anglophones in the population of the three counties is higher than for the province as a whole. The highest concentration of Anglophones is found in Bonaventure County, and Anglophones are the majority in the communities of New Carlisle, Shigawake, Grande Cascapédia, Saint-Jules and Hope Town. The Anglophone population is an aging one; the proportion of those over 65 years of age is higher for the Anglophone population than for the Francophone population in the Gaspe.

Between 1986 and 1991, there has been a decline in the total population of the three Gaspé counties in our study. However, we were not able to obtain a linguistic breakdown. Among the communities that suffered declines are New Carlisle, Shigawake, Grande Cascapédia, and Saint-Jules, where Anglophones are the majority. Although the on-site interviews confirm an exodus of Anglophones from the Gaspé, concluding from our statistical profiles that the emigration of Anglophones is disproportionate to Francophones is impossible.

The Anglophone community in the Gaspé is twice disadvantaged: the region is an economically depressed one by national standards, and by certain socio-economic indicators, the Anglophone minority is disadvantaged compared with the linguistic Francophone majority. What have we learned about the characteristics of the labour force? The labour force participation rates here are lower than those for Canada, and the participation rates for Anglophones are lower than those of Francophones in this region. The same is true of unemployment rates that range from 44 to 67% for those communities in Bonaventure County where Anglophones

are the majority or sizable minorities. The dependency on transfer payments is also high. The ratio of unemployment insurance earnings to earned income in New Carlisle, Grande Cascapédia, and Shigawake are, respectively, approximately three times, five times, and seven and a half times higher than the ratio for the Province of Quebec.

The Anglophone labour force is more concentrated in primary activities and in traditional services, but less concentrated in the manufacturing sector, than the Francophone Labour force. Where productivity gains and remuneration in the traditional service sectors are lower than in manufacturing, the Anglophones are not in an enviable position. The proportion of Anglophones employed in the public sector, especially in education and social services, is lower than their linguistic counterparts.

Of the seven occupational sectors - education, health, managerial, manufacturing, technical professionals, transportation, construction - where salaries were above-average in 1991, Anglophones had a lower concentration of employment in five of the sectors. The exceptions were in transportation and education, where the mix of administrators to teachers was high due to the smaller total number of students and staff in the English school system.

We found some disparities in the education levels between the two linguistic groups on the south coast of Gaspé. A larger proportion of Anglophones than Francophones in the labour force population - fifteen years of age and over - did not complete secondary school. Paradoxically, both linguistic groups had approximately the same proportion of university graduates in the labour force population. In New Carlisle and in Grande Cascapédia there was an above-average concentration of Anglophone university graduates in the labour force population for the south coast region of the Gaspé.

Both linguistic groups had the same average employment earnings. However, when we examined the remuneration by occupational groups, we found that average earnings of the Francophone majority exceeded their Anglophone counterparts in eight out of thirteen categories. The five categories where average employment earnings of Anglophones were higher were: processing industries, office work, fabrication and assembly, teaching, and other unspecified industries.

The disparities in earnings between Anglophone women and men are not as pronounced as they are in the province and in Canada. However, the labour force participation rate among Anglophone women in the Gaspé is very low: on average, only one in three is an active participant in the labour force in this region. This low participation rate partially explains why the unemployment rate for Anglophone women is lower than for Anglophone men. As well, the labour force participation rates are lower for Anglophone women than for Francophone women in the Gaspé, just as they are for men.

What did our interviews reveal about the institutions that are in place for local and regional development? There are municipal institutions, such as the *Comité de développement de New Carlisle*, which undertake projects to attract tourists, but do not engage in comprehensive planning. In New Carlisle, English-speaking people work with the French majority for the promotion of the community. In New Richmond, there is *La Commission du développement économique - Ville de New Richmond*, with an annual budget of $85,000.[36] Although this commission tries to attract new business to the town and oversee some sectoral committees, such as forestry and fishing, they do not plan globally for the municipality. The Anglophones tend not to take an active role in the Commission's administration because they see it as a creation of the municipal government, which operates in the French language. In smaller communities, the efforts are more modest, but the situation is similar, i.e., there is no overall planning of the economic future of the communities. Nevertheless, whatever local development efforts there are, English Gaspesians tend to co-operate with the French-speaking majority.

There are many government departments and agencies that have responsibility for regional development. At the provincial level, there is the *Commission régionale de concertation et de développement (CRCD) de la Gaspésie et des Îles-de-la-Madeleine* that has drawn up a strategic development plan for the 1993-1998 period. This council of mayors has set some overall objectives and some specific ones in various sectors, and operates on an annual budget of $4 million. Most of the English-speaking people we interviewed were not aware of its plans, and only a few were even aware of its existence. We were told that unless someone was a municipal official, he or she would not be aware of the CRCD's plans and activities. The ordinary citizen was not involved in the development or approval of the plan. Any publicity calling for input was done in the French media but not in the English media. This lack of publicity in English effectively disenfranchised any Anglophone wishing to participate in the development process. The same has been said of the MRCs, the municipal regional councils. Some unilingual English-speaking elected officials cannot partake fully in these forums because deliberations and minutes of meetings are in French. Requests for bilingual minutes have been refused. Some English-speaking entrepreneurs were aware of the *Ministère des Sciences et de la Technologie du Québec* because they had taken advantage of the grants and loans offered by this government department.

At the federal level there is the Federal Office of Regional Development (Quebec) -*Bureau fédéral régional (Québec)* - with an office in distant Rimouski. The Federal Business Development Bank - *Banque fédérale de développement* - also has an office in Rimouski that is responsible for the Peninsula. The *Société d'aménagement et de développement communautaire* (SADC), also known as Community Futures, is in danger of discontinuation. Beyond their awareness of the

---

[36] From an interview with Mr. Jean-Marie Jobin, Mayor of New Richmond, February 1995.

Federal Business Development Bank, those interviewed did not know of the existence of these agencies, let alone participate in any processes.

These institutions, whether at the federal, provincial, or municipal levels, are typically not sensitive to the English minority and its needs. We asked whether English-speaking Gaspesians were treated better by the federal agencies than provincial ones, and we were told that in some instances the federal agencies are less sensitive to the needs of the Anglophones than their provincial counterparts. Such perceptions of the treatment by public servants act as a disincentive to potential entrepreneurs in trying new ventures or expanding their operations.

Respondents were aware of many strengths in the communities where they resided, and strengths within the wider Anglophone community in the Gaspé. Some strengths perceived by those interviewed were: the salmon runs on the Cascapédia rivers, the British Historical Village in New Richmond; the museums and various cultural attractions in various communities which reflected the heritage of English-speaking Gaspesians; the Pin Rouge ski facility near New Richmond; agriculture, especially beef-raising; the highest mountain chain east of the Rockies; the Stone Pulp and Paper facility in New Richmond; the English schools, the recreational facilities, and the eighteen-hole golf course in New Carlisle; the large service centre for public and private goods, and the tourist attractions in the Town of Gaspé; the lobster industry and tourism in the Magdalen Islands. The English language newspaper, *Spec*, was seen as an important unifying force for the vastly dispersed Anglophone population in the Gaspé. Magdalen Islanders similarly treasured their English newspaper, *First Informer*. CASA — Committee for Anglophone Social Action in the Gaspé — is viewed as a stalwart in protecting the interests and rights of English Gaspesians.

Among the weaknesses perceived by those interviewed were: the distance from markets; the dispersed English population; the exodus of young Anglophones; the absence of a postsecondary Anglophone institution, including a CEGEP; poor passenger transportation facilities, especially air travel; high long-distance telephone rates; the high dependency on transfer payments by Anglophones; and the lack of overnight accommodations on the Magdalen Islands. A passenger airport on the south coast of the Gaspé was the greatest need mentioned for infrastructure.

What of the state of entrepreneurship in the Gaspé region? Many people expressed that the pool of entrepreneurs among Anglophones was shrinking due to the aging Anglophone population and the exodus of young Anglophones from the region. That having been said, there is a long tradition of Anglophones as entrepreneurs, and that legacy continues. We will say more on this.

How was the leadership perceived? There was a very strong consensus among those interviewed that there was a lack of leadership at all levels of government when it came to economic development. The leadership of CASA was highly praised for its efforts in defending the political rights of Anglophones. However, some

respondents expressed that CASA should expand its mandate to include the involvement of Anglophones in the economy of the region.

What special message, if any, did the respondents in the Gaspé have for the Department of Canadian Heritage? The Anglophone community in the Gaspé feels isolated and besieged as a minority in Quebec, and they have expressed that CASA is underfunded. Respondents have urged that the Department of Canadian Heritage increase funding in support of English Gaspesians. We heard the similar expressions from Magdalen Islanders.

How then do English-speaking Gaspesians contribute to the Peninsula's economy and to the Canadian economy? In Grande Cascapédia there is *La Société de gestion pour la rivière Grande Cascapédia*, an equal partnership between the predominantly local English community and the Micmacs on the Gesgapegiag reserve (formerly known as the Maria reserve), which manages the salmon river that has traditionally attracted American and other English-speaking tourists. Anglophones have traditionally been good managers of the salmon rivers in the Gaspé peninsula. The partnership which exists through *La Société* is a model of co-operation between two minority groups.

In nearby New Richmond, a community of 4,200 people, 18% of whom are English, there is the Gaspesian British Heritage Centre which traces the Loyalist era from 1760 to the early 1900s. Started in 1988, the Loyalist village now has twenty buildings, and employs thirty seasonal workers on a part-time basis, one full-time person, and four people on a full-time basis from May to September. In 1994, there were 15,000 visitors to the Centre, 13,000 of whom paid. The Anglophones throughout the Gaspé make a big contribution to tourism because they attract English-speaking tourists who would not otherwise come to the region. Other communities have heritage museums, such as the Hamilton Museum in New Carlisle.

Also in New Richmond, the English established the New Richmond Fairgrounds where cattle are auctioned and the price is set before the cattle leave the area. Previously, the price was determined at the destination point, at which time the stock had experienced weight loss and there may have been adverse price movements in the market. This innovation of the New Richmond auction has contributed to an improvement in productivity in the agriculture sector of the region's economy. The implementation of the artificial insemination program has done so as well. Many English-speaking Gaspesians are important producers in agriculture. Farms have been handed down from generation to generation, and are well managed. There are large beef producers, dairy farms, and horse-breeders.

Historically, English-speaking Gaspesians have been entrepreneurs in the region. For example, Robin Jones &Whitman Limited is spoken of as the second-oldest company in Canada, next to the Hudson Bay Company. English-speaking Gaspesians played an important role in the forestry and fishery sectors of the peninsula. Today, Anglophones continue to contribute successfully as farmers,

fishermen, and as tourist operators. More important, English-speaking entrepreneurs are at the forefront of new technology and innovation. One dairy farm operator is researching and developing an organic compost made of peat moss, fish waste, and farm waste. Some production has been exported to Japan. A fishermens' union official told us that it is the English-speaking fishermen who are more likely to adopt new technology. Fishermen travel long distances to catch fish, and because English-speaking fishermen can more easily communicate while they are in ports outside the Gaspé, they become acquainted with new ways and new technology. And because many of them are also bilingual, they are able to pass their new knowledge on to unilingual French-speaking fishermen in the Gaspé. So it is in agriculture and other sectors. It would seem that English-speaking Gaspesians act as an important bridge socially and economically between the Francophones in Quebec and the rest of Canada, and the world.

Many English-speaking people are self-employed in the region. Some operate businesses that families for generations have operated. We have spoken of these. Then those start their own businesses because they find it difficult to find employment due to local employers' preference for Francophones. We have been told that it is more difficult for an Anglophone, even if she or he is bilingual, to find work than a Francophone who is bilingual, or even in some instances, than a unilingual Francophone. As well, some Anglophones, who had left the region, began to see opportunities for starting their own businesses in the Gaspé, and have since returned to do so. One such entrepreneur became aware that no one in the region was supplying bottled oxygen to hospitals and industry, and started a business of supplying and refilling oxygen tanks.

Besides the many Anglophones who are teachers and professionals, there are many volunteers among the English-speaking Gaspesians. They make things happen that governments sometimes cannot. One example is in the Town of Gaspé where a recently-arrived United Church minister saw a dwindling economic base in fishing and forestry and decided to help her parishioners and townspeople find alternate employment. Where less than 10% of the land in the area was under active cultivation, and had lain fallow for decades, she saw a wonderful opportunity for the community to engage in organic farming, since the land qualified as pesticide-free for a minimum of fifteen years. She helped the people organize a non-profit company to begin what is expected to become a large-scale commercial enterprise. By organizing initially as a non-profit corporation, the group becomes eligible for funding from Human Resources Development (HRD) Canada and private foundations. However, the voting rights in the corporation are based on the co-operative movement's one-member-one-vote principle. Both Anglophones and Francophones of various religious denominations participate. The plan is in place, the work begun, and the process is phased, so that initial successes will lead to further successes.

What have we learned from the experiences of the English minority in the Gaspé? Anglophones in the Gaspé are dispersed geographically and tend not to operate on a unified front for development purposes. Community economic development —

such as it is -- is associated with the local place, and is not tied to language. In the Gaspé, there is less of a tradition of doing things cooperatively, and more of a tradition of "rugged individualism" among English Gaspesians. Hence, the predominance of Anglophones employed in primary activities and as self-employed entrepreneurs.

Because of the language policy in the Province of Quebec, Anglophones do not receive the same level of support for schools. Minority-schools would do much to preserve the language and heritage of the Anglophones in these regions. As well, the additional presence of minority-language educators, public servants, and public service agencies, would add to the pool of educated and well-trained people among the minorities. Any strengthening of the economic base, such as through the additional presence of public servants, or through the diversification of local exports, would create a *raison d'être* for people of the linguistic minority group to remain, and that greatly increases the chances of preserving the language and culture.

We have seen how linguistic minority communities can make a contribution to the economy and to economic development. Economic development in turn is an important ingredient in preserving the language and the heritage of such communities. There is a symbiotic relationship here. All levels of government should make greater efforts not only to support activities which tend to preserve the culture in linguistic minority communities, but also to support the economic development of the regions. Without an economic basis for a linguistic minority community to survive, the people within the minority group will eventually move. The dispersion will likely lead to assimilation of the minority people and the loss of heritage and culture. Conversely, by developing linguistic minority communities economically, the heritage and culture of the linguistic minorities will be strengthened.

Analysis and action framework for linguistic minority communities

Linguistic minority groups have very different characteristics depending on whether they live in rural, semi-rural or urban areas. Our study focussed primarily on the first, or rural, type. We know that linguistic minority groups living in rural areas tend to preserve their language and culture better than those residing in urban settings. Their greatest weakness stems more from their extreme economic dependency and chronic unemployment, which prompts many young people to leave (Beaudin and Boudreau, 1994). For these minority groups to become self-reliant, an overall approach which ties in with an essentially rural development strategy is required. We know that, regardless of location, rural linguistic minority and majority communities are finding it increasingly difficult to adapt economically. The current political and economic situation is in no way favourable for them. The gradual shift away from the "welfare state" is leading to an erosion of public services, thereby weakening the communities' power to retain their residents, especially young people. At the same time, these regional economic units must become more economically competitive. Competition is no longer local or regional, or even provincial or national, but rather international. Recently industrialized countries add to competitive pressures because of both their sizable populations and the comparative advantages of their cheap, yet increasingly qualified, mobile and productive work force. Canadian Francophone and Anglophone minorities, particularly those residing in rural or semi-rural areas, are directly affected by this growing competition. Their economic base depends largely on the exploitation of natural resources. This is indeed the case in all regions of Francophone descent and most Anglophone minority groups.

Since these two external forces, *reduced government transfers and increased competition*, act concurrently, they represent substantial constraints for marginal minority groups. These factors may have a decisive influence on their ability to adapt, although they do not necessarily mean a condemnation or gradual deterioration of the community structure *in place*. In fact, history teaches us that although major upheavals put societies to the test, they often lead to a new collective awareness and a firm resolve to succeed against all odds. Then, we see a social and community renewal supported by previously unimagined individual and collective efforts. Did the co-operative movement in Canada not arise from the great depression of the thirties? We know that the system was established as a counterbalance to a malfunctioning capitalist system, and the new model was resoundingly successful in rural, especially Francophone, communities. This illustrates that the constraints with which minority or majority rural communities are faced today do not necessarily lead to the fatalistic outcome so deeply feared by their residents. On the contrary, the shock wave caused by economic restructuring and the streamlining of government could shatter the state of complacency permeating rural populations since the advent of the "welfare state". Our analyses show, in fact, extreme dependency among linguistic minority groups, leading to a kind of apathy and resignation.

One thing is certain: the status quo is no longer possible, and regions as well as minority groups will have to take over their own socio-economic development to a greater extent. This requires concrete and immediate action from the leaders of each community. However, the problem must first be recognized by the local leaders and the population in general. This implies a desire to assume responsibility for themselves. Then the means have to be found. In terms of such factors as location, resources, entrepreneurial base and organizational structure, communities are not all at the same level. Some are better located than others, have greater resources, enjoy a relatively large pool of entrepreneurs and are fairly well organized, on both the community and the economic level. In reality, very few communities possess all these assets; most usually have only one or two strengths. However, experience and a collective desire can make the difference and turn constraints into challenges or even stimuli for the communities in question.

Nevertheless, development does not take place in a vacuum. It depends, first of all, on a collective self-examination and recognition of the problems and challenges to be tackled. This exercise is the responsibility of the local population. Their future as a community, their survival and their autonomy depend on it. Once the situation has been clearly established, every possible means must be used to attempt to break the vicious circle of dependency and marginalization, or even exclusion, of certain minority groups. The cycle of dependency can be described as *a vicious circle which tends to perpetuate itself through cumulative effects*. Chronic underemployment leads to the out-migration of young workers, resulting in weakening of the local demographic structure (smaller labour force and aging population), erosion of public services, socio-economic deterioration and, ultimately, apathy, loss of a sense of identity and resignation. The cycle must therefore be reversed at all costs by mobilizing human resources and, especially, by attempting to hold on to the young people who, because of an inhospitable environment, end up leaving the community, with all the detrimental impact this can have. For there to be some chance of success, potential investors and entrepreneurs must be encouraged to invest in their community and their region. Too often, the outflow of capital from rural regions (credit unions) toward Canada's major financial centres is seen. The outflow of capital may be less visible than the human migration, but is just as harmful. It reduces the local economy to no more than a consumer pool, letting the regional economic fabric fall apart from lack of financial support. Access to capital therefore remains fundamental, not only to ensure the continuation of activities under way, but also to increase productive capacity, develop new markets and diversify the economy.

When we embarked on this study, we had envisaged that there were communities in the Gaspé which were predominantly English-speaking and communities in Prince Edward Island which were predominantly French-speaking. As such, we envisaged that there would be a commonality of interest in linguistic minority communities undertaking local development. What we found instead was that the Anglophones are a minority within most communities in the Gaspé. Usually, where they are the majority, the populations of the communities are small with little fiscal capacity. Similarly, in Prince Edward Island the Francophones in North Prince are

a minority in their various communities. Undertaking their own course for community economic development is difficult for the linguistic minorities in these communities. Consequently, we found little interest among the linguistic minorities in these communities to embark on a local development program. In Evangeline, the situation was somewhat different. There are predominantly Francophone communities and they have a commonality of interest to undertake local development. However, among other factors, their fiscal capacity to do so may be limited.

There are many challenges in creating a guide for development. The first is that the regions under study - the South Coast of the Gaspé and Prince County in Prince Edward Island - are economically depressed ones by national standards. Because these regions are far from markets, have a high degree of dependency on social programs, aging populations, lower educational achievements than the national average, and industrial structures which are skewed toward primary activities, they are not regions in which entrepreneurs from other parts of Canada are interested in investing. From a public sector viewpoint, these communities are expensive to administer because of their dispersed populations. Secondly, not all communities have the same industrial and occupational structures, the same resources, and not all of them are at the same stage of development.

To generate a manual or extensive guide to development for any community, let alone linguistic minority communities, is a major work. It is indeed the core of the community economic development literature, which focuses on how people come together to determine their needs, assess their strengths and weaknesses, establish their objectives and goals, and move toward achieving these goals and objectives. Such an exhaustive undertaking is beyond the scope of this present study. It could be the basis of a future study, in the light of what we have learned from this study. Meanwhile, we will try to make some suggestions for linguistic minority communities about promoting their local development.

The danger for communities in the Gaspé and Prince Edward Island is their increasing marginalization. The economic opportunities are limited. The prospects of creating jobs in these regions are small. Consequently, there is an exodus of population, especially among the youth. Whatever economic base existed becomes eroded. A more aged, less mobile, population increases dependency on the state for services. In linguistic minority communities the situation is exaggerated. With an eroding economic base, there is a loss of not only the youth but also well-educated leaders who had chosen to remain in their region because of language ties and culture, as long as they could be gainfully employed. With a decline in the economic base due to market forces and cuts in public expenditures, such educated leaders in the linguistic communities will leave along with the youth. When there is a loss of a critical mass among the linguistic minorities, such dispersion will likely lead to assimilation of the minority people and the loss of heritage and culture.

With this model of decline in mind, we sought to assess through interviews the potential for people to come together to plan their economic destiny at the local level. We tried to assess people's awareness of development efforts and agencies around them, whom they considered leaders, what strengths and weaknesses they perceived, the state of entrepreneurship, what barriers, including linguistic ones communities faced in their development efforts, the effectiveness of economic development agencies, and the contribution of linguistic minority communities to economic development. In Parts II and III of this report we reported on the perceptions and opinions of those interviewed. We found that most people were not aware of economic development efforts around them. Although this was more true in the Gaspé and North Prince than in Évangéline, most people implicitly did not see the importance of economic development for preserving their heritage and culture. What do we recommend?

It is important for linguistic minority communities to increase their efforts in community economic development. In a community like New Carlisle, where Anglophones are still the majority, the English-speaking residents should take the lead in promoting the economic development of their town and surrounding area. In Évangéline, where the Francophone community already takes an interest in local development, they should increase their role in promoting local development by assuming more responsibility locally. In communities where Francophones are a minority, or in other communities where Anglophones are a minority, the linguistic minority groups should work within their communities to promote economic development. It is in everyone's interest to preserve and increase the economic base of the communities because with that will come the preservation of the language and culture.

That having been said, there are sometimes constraints about how much a community can promote local economic development. The provinces may not make funds directly available to communities for crafting and carrying out a plan. The provinces may wish to funnel such funding and efforts through such regional bodies as economic development commissions and industrial commissions. Nevertheless, whatever the mechanisms in place, if people in linguistic minority communities want development and push for development at the local level, there is a greater chance that regional commissions or other bodies will respond. Conversely, if linguistic minorities see their interventions as simply being on the linguistic and cultural level, then less will happen on the economic front and consequently, they will witness a deterioration in their well-being on the language and cultural levels as well.

As mentioned earlier, there is no universal model for every situation. Nevertheless, from our studies in the field, we have drawn guidelines which may enable linguistic minority communities to at least maintain and possibly reinforce what they have achieved. What is proposed is not a specific action plan, but rather a framework from which some form of action can be prepared. The approach is divided into six phases, with various steps involved in each of them.

An approach in six phases:

1. Awareness—Self-Examination

- Recognizing the problem

- Anticipating changes, the effects on the community

In this initial stage, each community must find a way to bring people together to first identify their needs and then to establish goals and objectives. Such an exercise can begin modestly by identifying a few key leaders in the community who would then meet to prepare a meeting of a dozen people from the community representing various perspectives and interests, e.g., elected officials, entrepreneurs, educators, and other resource people such as economists or planners. A first such encounter of this small focus group can take place over a weekend. The group can begin a dialogue on their needs and aspirations as a community, what problems the community faces from within and from outside the community. Shocks from outside the community, such as the reduction in public expenditures and the reduction in transfer payments, have to be assessed on how they will affect the community. The focus group might use the help of a facilitator, someone from government or a university who is familiar with community economic development. If there is a facilitator, that person should help the focus group through a self-examination process and not try to impose an agenda for development.

2. Evaluation of the community dynamics—Self-Evaluation

- List of the strengths and weaknesses

- Identification of the actors

- Assessment of the resources

- Condition of the organizational structure

The next step for the focus group would be to examine the strengths and weaknesses of the community. Such strengths and weaknesses should consider physical, financial, and human resources. The process should also assess the capability of the leadership, the state of entrepreneurship, the structures in place for economic development, identify the important economic sectors, and try to determine who will take responsibility for subsequent action.

3. Action plan/community strategies—Developing a Plan

- Action plans, strategies to counter the cycle of marginalization

- Assignment of roles and responsibilities

- Search for support

Once the "inventory phase" described in Step 2 has been completed, the focus group should then form subcommittees based on the important sectors identified in Step 2. For example, if a community had identified tourism as a strength, then all important actors in the tourist sector could meet and suggest a tourist strategy to the focus group. Once the various sectorial committees have reported to the main focus group, then the next step would be to set realistic goals and objectives based on the strengths and weaknesses identified earlier. Goals and objectives can be long term in nature but then setting some targets that could be met in the short term would be important. The achievement of these targets will inspire confidence in the community that further success can be realized. This is an essential feature of the whole strategy.

The focus group by this time should have the sanction of the town or village council and perhaps be funded by council, but it would be important that it operate at arms-length from the council. The focus group should then develop a plan of action to carry out those goals and objectives. Because of the special nature of linguistic minority communities, specific strategies should be developed to prevent the marginalization of the minority linguistic group. The delineation of responsibilities between the group, the local council, and other levels of government should be clearly established. Having said that, it would be important for the local community, through its focus group, to assume as much responsibility as it can handle toward its own development. The more they shift the responsibility outside the community, the greater the danger that the plan will not be implemented to its fullest extent and the goals and objectives will not have been met.

4. Logistic and financial support—Getting Support for the Plan

Periodically publicizing the work of the focus committee is extremely important, and after they have drafted a plan, they should then bring it to the wider community for comment. This can be done at a special meeting open to all residents where the plan is presented and the focus group entertains questions from the floor. The focus group will get some useful opinions, but what is more important, the publicizing of the plan helps bring the community on side and work toward the common objectives. After the basic plan is publicized and then accepted by the community, additional research and efforts should go into completing an action plan.

5. Implementation—Implement the Plan

The biggest mistake many communities make is to think that the task is completed once a plan appears in print. A plan is useless if the community simply shelves it. There must be a commitment to carry out the plan and a strategy adopted to do so. Once that is in place, what remains is to get the actors to move toward the objectives established in the plan.

6. Self-Evaluation—Ongoing Evaluation

There should be a process in place to monitor and review the progress being made. The focus or planning group should revise the plan in the light of any difficulties encountered or any new outside shocks to which the community may be exposed. The public should be kept informed of what progress is being made and what ongoing changes are taking place. It is important that the youth in the community be kept informed of the progress being made. The more informed the youth are about their community, the greater interest they will have in its future. This is another important feature of the whole strategy.

We have suggested a strategy that linguistic minority communities might adopt to enhance their economic development and subsequently preserve and enhance their language and culture. It is a strategy that each community must discuss and refine in the context of their own situation.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Bibliography

Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency. *Community Matters: The New Regional Economic Development—Report of the Task Force on Community Economic Development in Newfoundland and Labrador.* St. John's: ACOA, 1995.

Beaudin, M. *Dynamique des marchés régionaux du travail dans l'Atlantique.* Moncton: The Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development, 1994.

_____. *Indicateurs de disparités (Phase II)—Disparités infra-régionales dans l'Atlantique.* The Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development. Moncton, August 1991.

_____. "Mesure de la vitalité des petites régions au Canada. In *Une langue qui pense:* la recherche en milieu minoritaire francophone au Canada. Edited by Linda Cardinal. Ottawa, 1993. p.123-143.

_____. *Rôle des entreprises, des gouvernements et des communautés dans le développement économique.* Conference/workshop in a colloquium on the economy organized by the Conseil acadien de la coopération with the support of the Conseil canadien de la coopération. Moncton, March 1993. →

_____., and R. Boudreau. *État de la francophonie hors-Québec en 1991.* Prepared for le Comité d'adaptions des ressources humaines de la francophonie canadienne (CARHFC). Moncton, May 1994.

Canada. Department of Canadian Heritage. Official Languages Support Programs Branch. *The Economic Benefits of Linguistic Duality and Bilingualism,* monograph. Ottawa, Feb. 13, 1995.

CASA. *Annual Report 1993-1994.* New Carlisle, Quebec, p. 2.

Desjardins, P.M., and G.J. De Benedetti. *A Study of Atlantic Canada's Interprovincial and Foreign Exports for 1991.* Research Report No. 11. The Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development. Moncton, March 1993.

Dugas, Clermont. "Décentralisation et développement régional," *L'Action Nationale,* 83, 1: 597-617.

Eastman, C.M. *Language Planning: An Introduction.* San Francisco: Chandler & Sharp Publishers, 1983. p. 65.

Economic Council of Canada. *From the Bottom Up: The Community Economic Development Approach.* Ottawa, 1990.

Enterprise Prince Edward Island. Research Division. *The Economic Impact of Tourism - 1995*. Undated. p. 44-84.

Fishman, J.A. "Some Contrasts Between Linguistically Homogeneous and Linguistically Heterogeneous Polities". In *Language Problems of Developing Nations*. Edited by J. Fishman, C. Ferguson, and J. Das Gupta. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968. p.53-68.

Honadle, Beth Walter. "Rural Development Policy: Breaking the Cargo Cult Mentality," *Economic Development Quarterly*, 7, 3: 227-236.

Jernudd B.H., and J. Das Gupta. "Towards a Theory of Language Planning". In *Can Language Be Planned? Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice for Developing Nations*. Edited by J. Rubin and B.H. Jernudd. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1971. p.196.

Kelman, H. "Language as an Aid and Barrier to Involvement in the National System". In *Can Language Be Planned? Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice for Developing Nations*. Edited by J. Rubin and B.H. Jernudd. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1971. p. 21.

Landry, Marcel. "L'autre Québec : le monde rural," *L'Action Nationale*, 83, 5: 561-587.

Les Affaires. September 16-22, 1995 issue, p. 8.

Rubin, J., and B.H. Jernudd. "Introduction: Language Planning as an Element in Modernization". In *Can Language Be Planned? Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice for Developing Nations*. Edited by J. Rubin and B.H. Jernudd. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1971. p. xxi.

Shaffer, Ron. *Community Economics: Economic Structure and Change in Smaller Communities*. Iowa State University Press/Ames, 1989.

Tremblay, Diane-Gabrielle, and Jean-Marc Fontan. *Le Développement économique local : la théorie, les pratiques, les expériences*. Télé-université, Sainte-Foy, 1994.

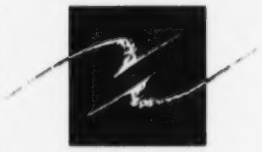
Vachon, Bernard. *Le Développement local : théorie et pratique*. Boucherville: Gaëtan Morin Éditeur, 1993.

About the authors

Maurice Beaudin is Assistant Director at the Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development at the Université de Moncton. His fields of interest as an economist are the economics of regional adaptation, dynamics of labour markets, regional planning. He is presently completing a doctorate on the adaptation of coastal communities in the Gulf of St.Laurence. He has participitated in many studies concerning economic activities of regions and sectors as well as a some studies on minorities outside Quebec.

René Boudreau is a researcher at the Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development as well as a part-time professor in the Department of Economics at l'Université de Moncton. He has participated at various conferences and written about economic issues in Atlantic Canada. He is presently preparing for a doctorate thesis in territorial management and regional development at l'Université de Laval. He is also a candidate for the Quebec-Acadia scolarship for the 1996-97 academic year.

George J. De Benedetti is an associate professor of economics at Mount Allison University. He teaches economic development at the community, regional and international levels. Professor De Benedetti is a past-president of the Atlantic Canada Economics Association and has served on the Research Advisory Committee of the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council. He is a member of the Board of Directors and a Research Associate at the Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development, and a frequent commentator in the press, CBC Radio, and television. He has written a number of articles on the Atlantic economy.



Order Form

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES SUPPORT PROGRAMS
DEPARTMENT OF CANADIAN HERITAGE
OTTAWA, ONTARIO
K1A 0M5

TEL : (819) 994-2224
FAX : (819) 953-9353
INTERNET : http://www.pch.gc.ca/offlangoff

NAME : _____

ADDRESS : _____

✉

_____

_____

TELEPHONE : _____

☎

PLEASE INDICATE THE DESIRED PUBLICATION IN THE BOX PROVIDED.

- ❑ **FRANCOPHONES IN CANADA: A COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS (POULIN/GUINDON)**
- ❑ **STATUS REPORT: MINORITY-LANGUAGE EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS (DUCHARME)**
- ❑ **OFFICIAL LANGUAGES AND THE ECONOMY**

New Publication from Statistics Canada

Youth in Official Language Minorities 1971-1991

The situation of youth in official language minorities changed considerably between 1971and 1991. This special report documents many of these changes - from the population size and its concentration in various parts of the country, to changes in bilingualism, language use, education, employment, and the families of minority youth. An indispensable tool for anyone interested in the language situation in Canada, the report provides many insights on this important population. It features more than 40 tables, along with graphs and easy-to-read text.

Youth in Official Language Minorities: 1971-1991 (91-545-XPE, $18) is now available.

To order this publication call 1-800-267-6677 or contact a Statistics Canada Regional Reference Centre in:

Halifax (902) 426-5331
Montréal (514) 283-5725
Ottawa (613) 951-8116
Toronto (416) 973-6586
Winnipeg (204) 983-4020
Regina (306) 780-5405
Edmonton (403) 495-3027
Calgary (403) 292-6717
Vancouver (604) 666-3691

Statistics Canada Statistique Canada
Canada

FRANCOPHONES IN CANADA: A COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS

STATUS REPORT: MINORITY-LANGUAGE EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES AND THE ECONOMY

INTERNET http://www.pch.gc.ca/offlangoff/

(SEE ORDER FORM INSIDE)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE